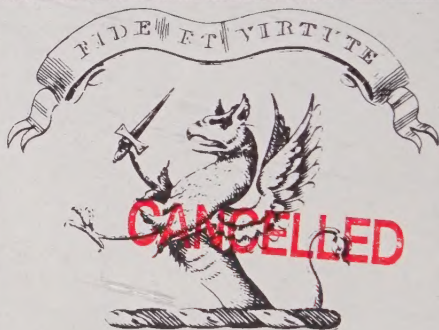


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EXCLUDED BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Translated by

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SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM

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PROVOST OF ETON

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AND OTHERS

With an Introduction by

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DEAN OF WELLS; SOMETIME DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

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THE TRANSLATIONS

The Gospel of Nicodemus, Part I, is included by permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, publishers of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, Part II, and *The Revelation of Peter* are translated by Dr. M. R. James, and are included by arrangement with the Clarendon Press.

The Genuine Epistle of Clement, *The Second Epistle of Clement*, *The Epistle of Barnabas* and *The Shepherd of Hermas* are translated by Bishop Lightfoot, and are included by arrangement with Messrs. Macmillan & Co., who have also granted permission to include Dr. H. B. Swete's translation of the *Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*.

INTRODUCTION

THE early Christian documents which I have been asked to introduce to English readers deserve our attention for very different reasons. They fall into two groups. The first may be called Apocryphal in the modern sense of that word; for they undertake to supply further information as to the life of our Lord and of some of those who came in contact with Him than is found within the limits of the New Testament. Some of the writers may have supposed that they were handing down genuine traditions which deserved to be presented in a picturesque form; but this could at the most apply to a very small portion of their work. Their object was to edify by way of pious imagination—sometimes, no doubt, to commend peculiar doctrinal views under cover of the supposed discovery of a secret writing which chance had brought to their knowledge. The historical worth of these books is only indirect. They add nothing to our knowledge of the actual facts; but they reveal to us something of the mind of the early Christian folk who could find entertainment, if not profit, in narratives of this kind. History.

as a rule, preserves to us the record of a few outstanding figures only, men who were leaders for good or perhaps for ill; but as to the mass of the people in remote periods we are left for the most part in the dark. The great majority of the members of the earliest Christian churches are wholly hidden from us, except at extraordinary moments when the brave endurance of martyrdom lifts individuals out of obscurity. They were a motley crowd—Jews, Greeks, Romans, educated and half-educated and wholly unlettered, rich and poor, masters and slaves; linked together only by a great new hope, and by the fraternal bond of the despised or persecuted Christian Society. They were cut off from the heathen banquets which had afforded them enjoyment in the past; and they found a compensation in their *agapa* or love-feasts. They were discouraged from reading heathen poetry, and the lighter literature which told them tales not fit for Christian ears; and again they found a compensation, as it would appear, in marvellous stories about the doings of the Apostles and even about the childhood of the Lord Himself. A vast literature grew up—Apocryphal Gospels and Epistles, Lives of Apostles, and Apocalypses. The remnants have been gathered together and sorted out in a masterly way by Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton, in whose recent book, *The Apocryphal New*

Testament, the reader will find a critical account of the documents here reproduced and a full survey of the whole of this branch of literature.

The second group, in sharp contrast to the first, is of the highest historical value. Here we have a genuine letter of one Christian Church to another at the end of the first century; a treatise thrown into the form of a letter, by a passionately earnest teacher whose name we cannot hope to know, for he himself makes no claim to be the Apostle to whom his book came to be ascribed; and an early book of parables and visions, which throws much welcome light on the social side of the Christian Society in Rome; and also a homily which is of interest for the theology of this primitive period. These four books stand, in one important characteristic, alone. They were so near to the possibility of being included in the Canon of the New Testament that they are actually found in one or other of two of our earliest manuscripts of the whole Greek Bible. The Sinaitic Codex of the fourth century has at the end the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas; and the Alexandrine Codex of the fifth century, now in the British Museum, has the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians and the Homily which goes by the name of his Second Epistle.

I do not like the title *Excluded Books of*

the New Testament, and I have been told I am free to criticise it. It suggests to my mind that the books in question were at one time regarded as a part of the collection called the New Testament, and were afterwards ejected on various grounds by a council or assembly of divines, which finally settled the Canon and imposed it on the Catholic or Universal Church. Nothing of the sort happened. The idea of a Canon, or fixed standard, of Sacred Books was inherited from Judaism. The Christian Church had a Bible in her hands at the very outset: it was what we now call the Old Testament, with the Apocrypha, in the Greek version of the Septuagint, or Seventy translators. Passages from the Old Testament were read aloud at gatherings for Christian worship, and especially before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. But on the same occasions writings distinctively Christian were read—the Gospel narratives, and the letters of the Apostles, and other books which were held to have apostolical sanction. At first there was no rule of limitation, apart from the judgment of the bishop of each church as to what tended to edification. But soon a tradition grew up in the greater churches as to what was and what was not of apostolic origin. Some books were not read in certain churches, though afterwards they were universally accepted; such were the Epistle to the

Hebrews, which some assigned to St. Paul, while others did not; the Revelation of St. John; and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, which finally won its way by sheer merit, though its authorship remained doubtful. By the end of the second century nearly all the books of our present New Testament were accepted by the general consent of all the churches. The whole story of the growth and fixation of the Canon is clearly told in Professor Souter's little book on *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*. "Something like a fixed Canon," he tells us, "had grown to have all the force of usage, and it was not till the second half of the fourth century that, from whatever cause or causes, this usage was stereotyped by various episcopal pronouncements made applicable to all the churches of a province or to the whole Church catholic." Thus the Canon was not the result of an arbitrary decision taken at a particular moment of time, but the fruit of Christian experience, recognised and formulated in due course by the chief rulers and leading scholars of the Universal Church.

The examination of the interesting writings contained in this volume will sufficiently explain to most readers why even the noblest among them failed to achieve the universal agreement, which alone could place them within the Canon as finally constituted.

“There is no question,” as the Provost of Eton has well said, “of any one’s having excluded them from the New Testament: they have done that for themselves.”

It remains to introduce these writings briefly one by one. The first is the Book of James, or, to give it its comparatively modern name, the *Protevangelium*. This is the most important of a group known as the Gospels of the Infancy. It tells the story of Joachim and Anna and their daughter Mary, of the Oblation of Mary in the temple, and her subsequent espousal to Joseph; it passes to an elaborate account of the Annunciation, of the anxieties of Joseph, and of the birth of Jesus. The writer has no knowledge of Jewish life and customs, but he forms his story on Old Testament models and upon the birth-narratives of our Gospels. This gives a certain dignity and sobriety to his work, which set it in sharp contrast with another member of this group, the so-called Gospel of Thomas, where we find a string of frivolous miracles supposed to have been performed by Jesus as a boy. Indeed the Book of James is a remarkable product of early Christian imagination, and it can be traced back into the second century. This and the Gospel of Thomas were practically embodied in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew—a Latin compilation, perhaps of the eighth or ninth

century. By means of this last work the older stories were handed down to inspire the mediæval artists, who have perpetuated them in the exquisite scenes of our illuminated manuscripts and painted windows.

We pass on to the Fragments of the Lost Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter. They were dug up forty years ago in an Egyptian cemetery. These two fragments are contained in a small book, in which they are separated from one another by a few blank pages, and preceded by a portion of the Book of Enoch. It will be convenient to speak of them separately, though the opinion is gaining ground among scholars that they really are parts of a single work, the writer of the "Gospel of Peter" having embodied in a modified and shortened form an earlier "Apocalypse of Peter."

(I) The Gospel of Peter is first mentioned at the end of the second century, when a bishop found it being read in a church, and after careful examination condemned it as containing the doctrine of the *Doceta*, who denied the reality of Christ's human nature. In our fragment the reader will observe for himself that the Lord is represented as "feeling no pain," and as not truly dying, but being "taken up" from the cross. It will be admitted that these two divergences from the teaching of our Gospels go some way to justify the judgment of the early

Christian bishop. A more obvious characteristic of our writer is his persistent determination to throw the blame of the Crucifixion on the Jews, and to exculpate the Roman governor and the Roman soldiery. It will be observed how he has modified one incident after another of our Gospels with this end in view. The work may be as early as the year 150. I do not doubt that the writer knew and used all our four Gospels, though it was not his intention to appear as copying from any one of them.

(2) The Apocalypse of Peter, unlike the "Gospel," has had a lasting influence on Christian thought and literature. The whole book was published from an Ethiopic text sixteen years ago: where we can compare it with our fragment, we find that it represents a rather fuller form, but one which offers closer correspondence with the fragments preserved to us in the writings of some of the Fathers. It was recast by the author of the Apocalypse of Paul, and was used by other writers of Apocalyptic books; and indirectly it inspired the Vision-literature of the Middle Ages, thereby profoundly influencing the general belief as to the future state of the righteous and of the wicked. The educated reader will recognise links with the poetry of Virgil before, and of Dante long centuries after.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, also known as

the Acts of Pilate, is a much later work than any of those which we have been considering. Pilate, as Roman governor of Judæa, was assumed even by second-century writers of repute to have written a full report to the Emperor of the circumstances of the trial and execution of Jesus; and it was taken for granted that this report was preserved in the state archives. This assumption gave a fourth-century writer the starting-point for an elaborate work of fiction, the object of which was at once to exculpate Pilate and to afford overwhelming proof of our Lord's resurrection. This part of the book would have left but little mark on later literature had it not contained a story of the attack which the Jews made on Joseph of Arimathæa for his action in obtaining for burial the body of Jesus. The story was greatly elaborated by subsequent writers: Joseph was made to accompany the Apostle Philip on his mission to Gaul, and to have been sent by him into Britain. He entered into the Arthurian legends of the end of the twelfth century as the bearer to these shores of the Holy Grail: thereafter he was claimed by Glastonbury as the builder of the little church of wattles, the earliest Christian sanctuary of our land.

But it was the second part of the book which gave to the Gospel of Nicodemus its fascinating interest and widespread influence. For here was the complete narrative of the

Descent of Christ into the underworld, "the harrowing of Hell," the preaching of the Gospel to them that slept, and the release of Adam and Eve and all their righteous descendants. This again provided the art of the Middle Ages with a subject of which it never tired. The main conception, the delivery of the righteous from Hades, goes back to the earliest times, and the story may have begun to shape itself long before it reached the form in which it came to be appended to the Acts of Pilate. Here it is picturesquely told in language which sometimes rises even to eloquence.

Our second group of writings is, as we have already indicated, of an altogether graver type. They are historical documents of primary importance. An intelligent layman told me once that he was under the impression that the history of the Christian Church from the times of the New Testament to the latter years of the second century was a blank. He was a little surprised when I undertook to give him a document for every decade. The four writings which we are now to consider may be said to fall within the first two generations after the death of the last of the Apostles.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is a remonstrance addressed by the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth on the

occasion of a dispute which had led to the ejection of certain presbyters of high standing. Though the writer does not mention his own name, there is no reason to doubt the universal belief that the Epistle was written by Clement, and about the year A.D. 96. His lengthy treatise is a model of gentleness, tact and firmness. After dwelling on the ruin wrought by jealousy, he praises with a wealth of Old Testament illustration the virtues of obedience, faith, hospitality, and above all humility. At length he approaches the topic of his anxiety. Orderliness is characteristic of the Creator of the universe. The Old Testament shows the orderliness demanded in the worship of God. The Christian Church was duly ordered by the Apostles, who left a succession of ministers to carry on their work. "Those, therefore, that have been appointed by them, or afterwards by other approved men with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered blamelessly to the flock of Christ . . . we cannot think are rightly ejected from their ministry." Presently he makes a noble appeal to the leaders of strife to heal it, if need be, by departing from the scene. The Epistle is closed with a long prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, which when read in the light of the later Liturgies suggests that we have here an example of Clement's own usage in the Great Intercession at the Eucharist.

The Epistle has an historical interest as showing how naturally in the very earliest period there came into play the mediating office of the Church of the Imperial city, hallowed as that Church was by the blood of the chiefest of the Apostles, Peter and Paul.

The Homily, which goes by the name of the Second Epistle of Clement (doubtless because it was preserved with the genuine Epistle), is the work of an anonymous writer some half a century later. It contains several curious quotations, one of which has been held to come from the Gospel of the Egyptians. But it is also interesting in itself and of importance in the history of theological thought. It is intensely practical. Its exhortations are based on the work of Christ, of whom we are to think as of God; who was at the first Spirit, and became flesh and so called us. His sufferings have brought us light and salvation. But we must keep our Baptism undefiled, if we would enter into the kingdom of God. Repentance must be now, while we are on this earth; after death it will be too late to repent. (The appeal is a powerful one, but the preacher goes beyond the statements of Holy Scripture.)

The Church is spiritual, as also is our Jesus; and like Him it has been manifested in the last days for our salvation. Christ and the Church are the "male and female"

of the Creation. We are to expect hourly the kingdom of God. Meanwhile we are in a state of training and discipline. If the reward were immediate, we should be engaged in the practice not of godliness, but of gain.

The Epistle of Barnabas contains no mention of its writer's name. We may call him Barnabas, even though we cannot identify him with the apostle who accompanied St. Paul. The date of the Epistle is uncertain. Bishop Lightfoot inclined to place it as early as A.D. 79; Dr. Harnack as late as 130; but neither of them would speak with confidence. The writer would seem to be an Alexandrian Jew, acquainted with a certain amount of Rabbinic tradition. He has turned for ever from Judaism, to welcome the Christian message as the fulfilment of his highest hopes. He has found among those to whom he writes a distressing moral slackness, and a tendency, Gentiles though they be, to adopt Jewish teachings and practices, on the ground that the ancient Jewish Scriptures contain much that is of permanent obligation. So Barnabas sets himself to face a problem which greatly exercised the early Church. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had shown the true way to a solution; but his argument was too lofty for the general mind, and he wrote for his own countrymen. Our writer is a simple man, and offers what he accounts a simple explanation. "I am no

teacher," he says, "but just one of yourselves: yet I have a few things which may give you cheer at the present season. For the days indeed are evil." We may note in passing that here and often in his letter he borrows the language of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.

His simple solution comes to this: the Jews have always misunderstood their own Scriptures. Their ceremonial precepts were not meant to be taken literally, but to be interpreted spiritually. "It is not a commandment of God that literally they should not eat (unclean meats); but Moses spake it in spirit." Moreover, as to their Covenant, they fail to see that they lost it by disobedience almost before they got it. "Be not deceived when they claim that it is theirs. They lost their Covenant when Moses broke the Tables of the Law because of their apostasy. Their Covenant was broken to pieces, that the Covenant of Jesus the Beloved might be sealed in our hearts. I say it again, I am no teacher; but I love you, I am your slave." This kindly writer shows no ill feeling against Jews, but he is bitterly opposed to Judaism. He glories in the Jewish Prophets, who all the time were pointing forward to Christ; and his parallels, some of them strange enough, between their predictions and the events of the Gospel history were repeated again and again by later writers.

The great moral purpose which runs through the Epistle finds its full expression in the remarkable section at its close, in which he describes the "Two Ways of teaching and power, that of Light and that of Darkness." Here we have a blending of precepts based on the moral doctrines both of the Old Testament and of the New. It is written in the same forcible but disjointed style as the earlier part of the treatise, and contains many of his characteristic words and phrases. This section has had a later history of its own; for it was adopted in various modifications by several writers. It forms, for example, the basis of the first portion of the *Didache* or (to give it its full title) "The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles."

We come now to the last and longest of our documents, "The Shepherd of Hermas." Hermas tells us that he was a slave, sold by the master who had reared him to a lady in Rome, named Rhoda. The accurate knowledge which in his last Similitude he shows of the topography of Arcadia, taken together with his Greek name, makes it likely that this was his native country. We may leave him to tell his own story in his simple and rambling way. A small shopkeeper in Rome, after he had gained his freedom, he has trouble with his family and is vexed by the corruption of the primitive purity of the

Christian Church. He is a stern moralist, convinced that as a general rule sins committed after Baptism have no forgiveness. But he believes himself to be the bearer of a special message, that one more opportunity is offered to such as will now repent and sin no more.

The book falls into three divisions. First come the five Visions, in the last of which appears the Shepherd, from whom the work has received its title—"The Shepherd" of Hermas. Then come the twelve Mandates or Commandments; and lastly the ten Similitudes or Parables.

There is little in the book to help us in fixing the date; but we may reasonably accept the early tradition that it was written while Pius, the brother of Hermas, was bishop of Rome (140-155). In style it is somewhat dull and discursive, but its moral earnestness makes it impressive. As he writes as one who has received a direct revelation, he never quotes any passage of Scripture; but his vocabulary is largely drawn from the New Testament; and, when we have learned to understand his allusive manner, we find that he has borrowed words and phrases from many of its writers, and more particularly from St. James. There are indications that he has also used the Epistle of Barnabas, and both Barnabas and Hermas were used by the writer of the *Didache*.

Those who desire to study more in detail the last two of our documents may be referred to the present writer's little book on *Barnabas, Hermas and the "Didache"* (S.P.C.K., 1920). The two writings bearing the name of Clement of Rome have been exhaustively treated by Bishop Lightfoot. And the whole region of New Testament Apocryphal literature has been surveyed and made accessible to English readers in the recent work of the Provost of Eton, to which reference has been already made.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

THE BOOK OF JAMES OR
PROTEVANGELIUM

THE BOOK OF JAMES OR PROTEVANGELIUM

BEHOLD, it is written in the books of the twelve tribes of Israel: There was a man whose name was Joachim, exceeding rich, who brought a twofold offering to the Lord, saying: Of my offering that portion which I must offer according to the Law shall be for the Lord as a propitiation for my sins, and that which is left shall be given to all the people.

Now the great day of the Lord was at hand, and the sons of Israel brought their offerings. And Rubim stood before Joachim, saying: It is not lawful for thee to offer thy offerings before all the others, for thou hast not raised up children in Israel.

And Joachim was exceeding sorrowful, and went to the books of the generations of the twelve tribes, saying in his heart: I will look in the books of the generations of the twelve tribes of Israel that I may know whether I alone have not raised up children in Israel. And he looked and found that all the just had raised up children in Israel. And he remembered the patriarch Abraham unto whom in his last days God gave a son, even Isaac.

And Joachim was exceeding sorrowful,

coming in no more unto his wife, but going into the desert he there pitched his tent and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying in his heart : I will not depart from here either for meat or for drink until the Lord my God hath visited me, and prayer shall be for meat and drink unto me.

And Anna his wife lifted up her voice in a twofold lamentation and a twofold mourning, saying : I will lament my widowhood ; I will bewail my barrenness. And the great day of the Lord was at hand, and Judith her handmaiden said unto her : How long wilt thou vex thy soul ? Behold, the great day of the Lord is at hand, and it is no longer lawful for thee to mourn. Take this diadem, which my mistress before thee gave unto me, for it is not lawful that I should wear it, for I am but thine handmaiden, and upon it is the mark of royalty.

And Anna said : Get thee far from me : for behold, I will not do it, for the Lord hath brought me very low. Peradventure it was given thee by some evil-doer, and thou seekest to make me partaker of thy guilt. And Judith said : What evil am I able to inflict upon thee whom the Lord hath made barren that thou mayest not bear fruit in Israel ?

And Anna was sore grieved. And she put off her mourning garments, washing her head, and putting on her bridal garments, and she went down into the garden about the ninth hour to walk there. And espying a laurel

tree she seated herself in its shade, and prayed unto the Lord the Almighty, saying : God of our fathers, bless me and give ear unto my prayer, even as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, giving unto her a son, Isaac.

And raising up her eyes unto heaven she beheld a nest of sparrows in the laurel tree, and she grieved, saying in her heart : Woe unto me, who begat me and from what womb am I sprung ? For I am become a reproach before the sons of Israel. For they have reviled me, and driven me with mockings from the temple of the Lord. Woe unto me, unto what may I be likened ? Not unto the birds of the air : for the birds of the air even they multiply before Thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what may I be likened ? Not unto the beasts of the field : for the beasts of the field even they multiply before Thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what may I be likened ? Not unto these waters : for these waters even they bring forth before Thee, O Lord. Woe unto me, unto what may I be likened ? Not unto this earth : for this earth bringeth forth her fruits in due season, and blesseth Thee, O Lord.

And, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared before her, and said unto her : Anna, Anna ! the Lord hath hearkened unto thy prayer. Thou shalt conceive and bring forth, and thy offspring shall be spoken of in all the earth. And Anna said : As surely as the Lord my God liveth, if I bring into the world a child,

be it a son or be it a daughter, I will offer it as a gift to the Lord my God to minister unto Him all the days of its life. And, behold, two angels appeared unto her, saying: Behold, Joachim thy husband comes with his flocks. For an angel from the Lord came down and said unto him: Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God hath hearkened unto thy prayer. Go down hence. For, behold, Anna thy wife shall conceive in her womb. And Joachim went down thence and called his shepherds, saying: Bring hither ten lambs without spot and without blemish, and they shall be for the Lord my God. And bring hither twelve young calves, and they shall be for the priests and the elders; and for all the people, an hundred goats. And, behold, Joachim came down with his flocks, and Anna stood by the gate. And when she saw Joachim coming, she ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now verily I know that the Lord my God hath greatly blessed me. For behold, the widow is no more a widow, and I who was barren shall conceive in my womb. And Joachim rested in his house the first day.

On the morrow he brought forth his offerings, saying in his heart: If the Lord God is gracious unto me, the plate of gold on the forehead of the high-priest will reveal it unto me. And Joachim brought his offerings. And he watched the plate of gold on the forehead of the high-priest when he went up to the altar of the Lord. And he saw that there was no

sin in himself. And Joachim said : Verily I know that the Lord is gracious unto me and hath pardoned all my iniquities. And he went down justified from the temple of the Lord and returned into his own place.

And the months were fulfilled in Anna, and she brought forth a child. And she said to the midwife : What have I brought forth ? And she said : A woman-child. And Anna said : This day hath my soul been exalted. And she laid herself down in her bed.

And when the days were fulfilled, Anna purified herself and gave suck to the child, and she was called Mary.

And day by day the child grew and waxed strong. And when she was six months old her mother set her on the ground that she might see whether she could stand. And when she had made seven steps she came back into the bosom of her mother, who caught her up, saying : As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk this earth until the day come when I shall bring thee into the temple of the Lord. And she made a holy place for her in her bedchamber, and whatever was common or unclean, that she kept far from her. And she called unto her the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and they played with her.

When the child was now a year old Joachim made ready a great feast and invited the priests and the scribes and the council of the elders and all the people of Israel. And Joachim brought forth the child to the priests

and they blessed her, saying : God of our fathers, bless this child and grant unto her a name that shall be known to all generations. And all the people said : So be it, So be it, Amen. And he brought her forth unto the chief priests, and they blessed her, saying : Almighty God, look down upon this child and bless her to the uttermost even for ever. And her mother took her away into the place she had made ready for her in her bedchamber, and there gave her suck. And Anna sang a song to the Lord God, saying : I will sing a song to the Lord my God, for He hath visited me and taken away from me the reproach of mine enemies. The Lord hath given unto me a token of His justice, a singular token yet of much value before Him. Who now will tell unto the sons of Reuben that Anna gives suck ? Hearken, hearken, O ye twelve tribes of Israel, for verily Anna gives suck. And she laid the child in the place prepared for her in her bedchamber, and went out and served them. And when the feast was at an end they went down rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel.

And month was added unto month, and when the child was two years old Joachim said : Lead her into the temple of the Lord to the end that we may fulfil the vows we have made, lest the Lord demand it of us and our offering be not accepted. And Anna said : Let us wait until the third year to the end that the child may not seek in vain for her father

or her mother. And Joachim said : Let us wait.

And when the child was three years old Joachim said : Summon from out of the daughters of the Hebrews those that are undefiled, and give unto each a torch and let the torches be lighted lest the child should seek to turn back and her heart be held captive without the temple of the Lord. And it was done even as he had said until they ascended unto the temple of the Lord. And the priest received her and, having embraced her, said : The Lord hath glorified thy name unto all generations. By thee in the last day will the Lord reveal His salvation to the sons of Israel. And he set her down upon the third step of the altar. And the Lord gave grace unto her so that she danced, and all the house of Israel loved her. And her parents went down filled with joy and praising the Almighty God because the child had not sought to turn back.

And Mary dwelt in the temple of the Lord even as a captive dove, and she was nourished at the hand of an angel. And when she was twelve years old, a council of the priests was held which said : Behold, Mary is now twelve years of age, and in the temple of the Lord. What then shall be done that she may not defile the sanctuary of the Lord? And they said to the high-priest : Thou standest at the altar of the Lord. Enter then within and pray concerning her ; and that

which the Lord shall reveal unto thee to be done, that will we do. And the high-priest entered within the Holy of Holies, wearing the robe with twelve bells, and he prayed concerning this matter. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood before him, saying : Zacharias, Zacharias, get thee hence and gather together those that are widowers from among the people, and let them each bring a rod ; and he to whom the Lord shall show a sign, to him shall she be as a wife. And the messengers went out and travelled throughout the whole land of Judæa, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded and all ran together.

And Joseph, throwing down his axe, went away and joined himself to the number. And when they had come together they went unto the high-priest after they had taken their rods. And when he had taken their rods within the sanctuary, he prayed. And when he had made an end of praying he took again the rods and gave them to them. But as yet there was no sign upon them. And the last rod was given unto Joseph. And behold a dove which came forth from the rod and settled upon the head of Joseph. And the priest said unto Joseph : Thou it is who hast been chosen to take into thy care the Virgin of the Lord. But Joseph refused, saying : I have sons and I am old, but as for her, she is only a child, I fear lest I become a laughing-stock before the sons of Israel. And the priest said unto Joseph : Fear the Lord thy

God; and remember what He did unto Dathan, Abiram and Korah. How the earth opened up and swallowed them because of their contumacy. And now, O Joseph, fear lest this thing happen also to thy house. And Joseph, filled with fear, took Mary into his keeping. And he said to her: Behold, I have received thee out of the temple of the Lord, and now I leave thee in mine own house, and I go away to build my buildings and then I will return unto thee. Until that time the Lord will be thy guardian.

And the priests took counsel together and they said: Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the high-priest said: Summon unto me the undefiled virgins of the house of David. And the servants departed and sought, and they found seven virgins. And the high-priest remembered the young Mary; how she also was of the house of David, and without spot before God. And the servants departed and brought her. And they caused the virgins to enter into the temple of the Lord. And the high-priest said: Cast lots that it may be known which of you shall weave the gold and the white and the fine linen, and the silk and the violet-purple and the scarlet and the true purple. And Mary obtained by lot the true purple and the scarlet, and taking them she returned into her own house. (And at this time Zacharias was dumb, and his place was taken by Samuel until the day should come when Zacharias

should speak again.) And Mary having taken the scarlet began to weave it.

And she took her pitcher and went forth to draw water. And behold a voice which said unto her: Hail, thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women. And she looked to the right and to the left that she might see whence this voice came; and being seized with a trembling she returned into her own house, setting down her pitcher, and took the purple and sat down upon her seat and began to weave it. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour before the Lord of all things, and thou shalt conceive of His word. And she, having heard these words, searched within herself, saying: Shall I verily conceive of the Lord, the living God, and shall I bring forth after the manner of every woman? And the angel of the Lord said unto her: Not so, O Mary; the power of the Lord will overshadow thee. Wherefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the son of the Most High. And thou shalt call him Jesus; for he it is who shall save his people from their sins. And Mary said: Behold, the handmaiden of the Lord is before Him; let it be unto me according to thy word.

And she made the purple and the scarlet, and brought them to the high-priest. And the high-priest blessed her and said: Mary, the Lord God hath exalted thy name, and thou

wilt be blessed among all generations of the earth. And Mary, being filled with great joy, went away unto Elizabeth her kinswoman. And she knocked upon the door. And Elizabeth having heard her threw down the scarlet which she had in her hand and ran to the door and opened it; and when she saw Mary she blessed her and said: Whence is this done unto me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me? Behold, that which is within me leaped and blessed thee. And Mary had forgotten the mysteries which had been revealed unto her by the archangel Gabriel. And she raised her eyes to heaven and cried: Who am I, O Lord, that all the generations of the earth bless me? And she dwelt with Elizabeth three months. And day by day her womb increased, and she was seized with fear. And Mary departed into her own house and sought to conceal herself from the sons of Israel. And she was sixteen years old when these mysteries were accomplished.

And she was now come to the sixth month, and behold, Joseph returned from his work of building, and going into his house found her with child. And he beat his face, and threw himself down upon sackcloth, and mourned bitterly, saying: In what manner shall I turn my eyes towards the Lord my God? And what shall I say in my prayers concerning this young girl? For I received a virgin of the temple of the Lord my God, and I have not watched over her. Who is he that hath

deceived me? Who is it who hath committed this wickedness in my house and defiled this virgin? Is not the story of Adam become my story? At the very hour of his giving thanks, the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her; the same hath happened unto me. And Joseph raised himself from the sackcloth where he was lying and called Mary, and said unto her: O thou so dear to God, why hast thou done this? Hast thou then forgotten the Lord thy God? Why hast thou humiliated thy soul, thou who wast nurtured in the Holy of Holies and who didst receive thy food at the hand of an angel? And she wept bitterly, saying: I am pure and have known no man. And Joseph said unto her: Whence then cometh that which is within thy womb? She said: Verily, as the Lord my God liveth, I know not whence it is come unto me.

And Joseph was sore afraid, and he separated himself from her and took thought as to what he should do. And Joseph said: if I hide her sin I shall be acting against the law of the Lord. If I denounce her to the sons of Israel I fear lest that which is within her be come of an angel, and then I shall be found to have delivered up innocent blood to a judgment of death. What then can I do? I will let her depart from me in secret. And the night overtook him in these thoughts.

And, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: Fear not this

child, for that which is within her is the work of the Holy Ghost. She will bring forth a son and thou shalt call him Jesus, for it is he who will save his people from their sins. And Joseph rose up from his sleep and praised the God of Israel who had manifested unto her this blessing. So he continued to watch over Mary.

And the scribe Annas came nigh unto him and said unto him : For what cause hast thou not come unto our council ? Joseph said unto him : I was wearied from the journey, and I rested myself the first day. And Annas turning round beheld Mary that she was great with child. And he hastened unto the high-priest and said unto him : Joseph hath committed a great sin, even the greatest of all. And the high-priest said : What is this ? And he said : He hath defiled the virgin whom he hath received out of the temple of the Lord, and hath consummated marriage with her by stealth, and he hath not made this known unto the sons of Israel. The high-priest answered and said unto him : Hath Joseph done this ? And the scribe Annas said : Send servants and thou wilt find that the virgin is great with child. And the servants went and found that it was even as he had said, and they brought Mary together with Joseph into the hall of judgment. And the high-priest said : Mary, why hast thou done this ? And to what end hast thou humbled thy soul, and hast thou forgotten the

Lord thy God? Thou who wast reared in the Holy of Holies, who didst receive thy food at the hand of an angel; who hast heard the hymns and who hast danced before the Lord, wherefore hast thou done this? And she wept bitterly, saying: Verily, as the Lord my God liveth, I am pure in His eyes and have known no man. And the high-priest said unto Joseph: Wherefore hast thou done this? And Joseph said: Verily, as the Lord my God liveth, I am innocent in all that concerns her. But the high-priest said: Do not bear false witness, but speak the truth. Thou hast secretly consummated marriage with her, and thou hast not revealed it unto the sons of Israel. Thou hast not bowed down thy head under the almighty hand of God that thy seed might be blessed. And Joseph held his peace.

And the high-priest said: Deliver up the virgin thou hast received out of the temple of the Lord. And Joseph burst into tears. And the high-priest said: I will give you to drink the water of the testing of the Lord, and He will shew forth your sins before your own eyes. Therefore the high-priest took the water and gave it to Joseph to drink, and he sent him unto the hill-country, whence he came back safe and whole. He gave also to Mary to drink and sent her unto the hill-country, whence she came back safe and whole. And all the people were astonished because there appeared to be no sin in them. The high-priest said: Since the Lord God hath not

made manifest your sins, neither do I judge you. And he sent them away. And Joseph took Mary with him and departed and entered unto his house, rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel.

And there came an order of Cæsar Augustus that a census should be taken of all the people of Bethlehem of Judæa. Joseph said: I shall write down the names of my sons; but what shall I do for this child? How can I write her down? As my wife? I am ashamed. As my daughter? But all the sons of Israel know that she is not my daughter. The day of the Lord will be as the Lord desireth. And he saddled his ass, and set Mary upon it; and his son led the ass by the bridle, and Joseph walked by the side. And, when they were within three miles of Bethlehem, Joseph turned and beheld Mary that she was very sorrowful, and he said within himself: Perchance that which is within her causeth her to suffer. Again Joseph turned and beheld that she smiled; and he said unto her: Mary, what signifieth it that now I see joy in thy face yet another time grief? Mary said unto Joseph: It is that I see two peoples with mine eyes; the one weeping and crying aloud; the other rejoicing and full of exultation.

And when they were come to the middle of their way, Mary said unto him: Set me down from the ass, for that which is within me presses upon me and wishes to come forth.

And he took her from off the ass and said unto her : Whither shall I take thee and how shall I cover thy modesty ? For the place is a desert.

And he found in the place a cave and he led her within. And leaving with her his sons, he departed thence and sought a Hebrew midwife in the land of Bethlehem.

And I Joseph was walking and I did not go forward. And I looked into the air and beheld the air still and, as it were, amazed. And I looked upon the pole of heaven and beheld it standing still, and the birds of the air were still. And I looked upon the earth and saw a bowl placed on the earth and workmen lying around it, and they made ready to eat. And those who were eating did not eat any longer, and those who took from the dish did not take any more, and those who were carrying it to their mouths carried it no longer ; but the faces of all were turned towards heaven. And, behold, I saw the sheep being driven to their pasturage, and they went not forward but stayed where they were ; and the shepherd raised his hand to strike them with his staff, and his hand stayed still in the air. And I looked upon the current of the river, and I beheld the mouths of the kids as though they rested upon the water, and did not drink. And then, of a sudden, everything went onwards in its daily course.

And, behold, a woman came down from the hill-country and said unto me : O man,

whither goest thou? And I said: I seek a Hebrew midwife. And she answered me: Thou art of Israel? And I said unto her: Yes. She said unto me: And who is it that giveth birth in the cave? And I said: It is my betrothed. And she said unto me: Is she not thy wife? And I said unto her: It is Mary who was raised up in the temple of the Lord and who was given to me by lot as my wife; and, nevertheless, she is not my wife, but, if she has conceived, it is of the Holy Ghost. And the midwife said unto him: Is this true? And Joseph said unto her: Come and see. And the midwife went with him.

And they came to the place where the cave was. And behold, a shining cloud covered the cave. And the midwife said: My soul has this day been exalted because mine eyes have seen wondrous things; for salvation is born unto Israel. And suddenly the cloud disappeared from the cave and a great light appeared in the cave so that our eyes were not able to bear it. And this light disappeared by little and little until the moment when the child appeared, and went and took the breast of his mother Mary. And the midwife cried out and said: To-day is a great day for me, for I have seen this new sight. And the midwife left the cave and met Salome, and said unto her: Salome, Salome, it is a new sight that I have to tell unto thee: a virgin hath brought forth, a thing which her state permitteth not. And Salome said: Verily, as

the Lord my God liveth, unless I can assure myself of her state I am not able to believe that a virgin has given birth.

And the midwife entered and said to Mary : Make thyself ready—for no small controversy hath arisen concerning thy state. And Salome sought to assure herself of her state, but she cried out and said : Woe unto my impiety, woe unto my disbelief, because I have tempted the living God, and behold my hand is consumed by fire and droppeth off. And she bent her knees before the Almighty Lord, saying : God of my fathers, remember that I am sprung of the seed of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob ; do not make of me an example for the sons of Israel ; but return me unto the poor. For Thou knowest, O Lord, that it is in Thy name that I have given my services and that I have received my reward of Thee. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her and said unto her : Salome, Salome, the Lord hath hearkened unto thee ; bring thy hand nigh unto the little child, carry it and thou wilt have both salvation and joy. Therefore Salome came nigh and carried it, saying : I will render worship unto Him, for in Him is a great king born unto Israel. And, behold, immediately Salome was healed, and she departed from the cave justified. And, behold, a voice said unto her : Salome, Salome, tell not the miracles which thou hast seen until the child enter into Jerusalem.

And, behold, Joseph made ready to depart

and to go into Judæa. And a great tumult arose in Bethlehem of Judæa. For the Magi were come, saying : Where is he that is born king of the Jews ? For we have seen his star in the East and we are come to worship him. Now when Herod heard it he was afraid, and he sent messengers unto the Magi and assembled the chief of the priests and questioned them, saying : What is it that is written concerning the Christ ? Where shall He be born ? And they said unto him : In Bethlehem of Judæa—for so it was written. And he sent them away. And he questioned the Magi, saying unto them : What sign have you seen concerning the king that is born ? And the Magi said : We have seen a very great star shining among the stars and dimming their light so that the other stars appeared no more ; hence we know that a king has been born in Israel, and we are come to worship him. Herod said unto them : Go, make search for him, and when you have found him, tell it unto me that I too may go and worship him. And the Magi departed. And, behold, the star which they had seen in the East went before them even until they came to the cave, and it stood still above the roof of the cave. And the Magi saw the little child with Mary his mother, and they brought forth from their bags gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. And having been warned by an angel not to go into Judæa, they returned into their own country by another way.

Then when Herod knew that he had been made a mock of by the Magi he was enraged and sent murderers, saying unto them : Kill all infants of two years old and under. And Mary, having heard that the infants were being killed, feared, and took the child and wrapped him in swaddling bands and placed him in an ox-manger. And when Elizabeth heard that they were seeking John, she took him and departed into the hill-country and sought where she might hide him ; but there was no hiding-place. Then Elizabeth, having groaned, cried with a loud voice : Mountain of God, receive a mother with her child. For she was not able to go up. And of a sudden the mountain was cleft in twain, and received her ; and there came a light for them, for an angel of the Lord was with them to watch over them.

But Herod sought John, and sent messengers to Zacharias, saying : Where hast thou hidden thy son ? He answered and said unto them : I am a servant of the Lord and I dwell constantly in the temple of the Lord. I know not where my son is. So the messengers departed and told everything to Herod. And in a rage Herod said : His son will one day reign over Israel. Then sent he again unto him, saying : Speak the truth : where is thy son ? Thou knowest that verily thy life is within the hollow of my hands. And the messengers departed and told him everything. Zacharias said : I am a martyr of

God, if thou sheddest my blood. My spirit will the Lord receive, for it is verily innocent blood that thou sheddest in the outer court of the temple of the Lord. And towards the dawn Zacharias was slain. And the sons of Israel knew not that he had been slain.

But the priests went in at the hour of the salutation, and the blessing of Zacharias met them not as was customary. And the priests stood there waiting for Zacharias that they might greet him with a prayer and glorify the Most High. As he delayed they were seized with fear; and one among them, braver than the rest, went in and saw near the altar dried up blood and heard a voice saying: Zacharias has been slain, and his blood shall not disappear from hence until his avenger come. And when he heard these words he was seized with fear, and went out and told it to the priests. And they taking courage went in and saw what had happened; and the walls of the temple mourned aloud and they rent their vestments from top to bottom. But of the body of Zacharias they found no trace, only his blood had become like stone. And seized with fear they departed and told the people that Zacharias had been slain. All the tribes of the people heard it, and wept for him; and they mourned three days and three nights. But after these three days the priests took counsel to know who should take the place of Zacharias, and the lot fell upon Simeon. For it was he who had been warned by the Holy

Spirit that he should not see death before he had seen Christ in the flesh.

And I, James, who have written this history, when troubles arose in Jerusalem after the death of Herod, I departed into the desert even until the uproar in Jerusalem ceased, praising the Lord God who had given unto me grace and wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with them who fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

PART I. THE ACTS OF PILATE

PROLOGUE

I ANANIAS, of the proprætor's body-guard, being learned in the law, knowing our Lord Jesus Christ from the Holy Scriptures, coming to Him by faith, and counted worthy of the holy baptism, searching also the memorials written at that time of what was done in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews had laid up in the time of Pontius Pilate, found these memorials written in Hebrew, and by the favour of God have translated them into Greek for the information of all who call upon the name of our Master Jesus Christ, in the seventeenth year of the reign of our lord Flavius Theodosius, and the sixth of Flavius Valentinianus, in the ninth indiction.

All ye, therefore, who read and transfer into other books, remember me, and pray for me, that God may be merciful to me, and pardon my sins which I have sinned against Him.

Peace be to those who read, and to those who hear and to their households. Amen.

In the fifteenth year of the government of

Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and Herod being king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth day before the Kalends of April, which is the twenty-fifth of March, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, Joseph Caiaphas being high-priest of the Jews.

The account that Nicodemus wrote in Hebrew, after the cross and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour God, and left to those that came after him, is as follows :

1. Having called a council, the high-priests and scribes Annas and Caiaphas and Semes and Dathaes, and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Nephthalim, Alexander and Jäirus, and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate accusing Jesus about many things, saying : We know this man to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary ; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king ; moreover, he profanes the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers. Pilate says : And what are the things which he does, to show that he wishes to do away with it ? The Jews say : We have a law not to cure anyone on the Sabbath ; but this man has on the Sabbath cured the lame and the crooked, the withered and the blind and the paralytic, the dumb and the demoniac, by evil practices. Pilate says to them : What evil practices ? They say to him : He is a magician, and by Beelzebub prince of the demons he casts out the

demons, and all are subject to him. Pilate says to them: This is not casting out the demons by an unclean spirit, but by the god Esculapius.

The Jews say to Pilate: We entreat your highness that he stand at thy tribunal, and be heard. And Pilate having called them, says: Tell me how I, being a procurator, can try a king? They say to him: We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says that he is. And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Let Jesus be brought in with respect. And the runner going out, and recognising him, adored him, and took his cloak into his hand, and spread it on the ground, and said to him: My lord, walk on this, and come in, for the procurator calls thee. And the Jews seeing what the runner had done, cried out against Pilate, saying: Why hast thou ordered him to come in by a runner, and not by a crier? for assuredly the runner, when he saw him, adored him, and spread his doublet on the ground, and made him walk like a king.

And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Why hast thou done this, and spread out thy cloak upon the earth, and made Jesus walk upon it? The runner says to him: My lord procurator, when thou didst send me to Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the sons of the Hebrews held branches in their hands, and shouted; and others spread their clothes under him,

saying, Save now, thou who art in the highest : blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

The Jews cry out, and say to the runner : The sons of the Hebrews shouted in Hebrew ; whence then hast thou the Greek ? The runner says to them : I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it they are shouting in Hebrew ? And he interpreted it for me. Pilate says to them : And what did they shout in Hebrew ? The Jews say to him : *Hosanna membrome baruchamma adonai*. Pilate says to them : And this hosanna, etc., how is it interpreted ? The Jews say to him : Save now in the highest ; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate says to them : If you bear witness to the words spoken by the children, in what has the runner done wrong ? And they were silent. And the procurator says to the runner : Go out, and bring him in whatever way thou wilt. And the runner going out, did in the same manner as before, and says to Jesus : My lord, come in ; the procurator calleth thee.

And Jesus going in, and the standard-bearers holding their standards, the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus. And the Jews seeing the bearing of the standards, how they were bent down and adored Jesus, cried out vehemently against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews : Do you not wonder how

the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate: We saw how the standard-bearers bent them down, and adored him. And the procurator having called the standard-bearers, says to them: Why have you done this? They say to Pilate: We are Greeks and temple-slaves, and how could we adore him? and assuredly, as we were holding them up, the tops bent down of their own accord, and adored him.

Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Do you choose for yourselves men strong and powerful, and let them hold up the standards, and let us see whether they will bend down with them. And the elders of the Jews picked up twelve men powerful and strong, and made them hold up the standards six by six; and they were placed in front of the procurator's tribunal. And Pilate says to the runner: Take him outside of the prætorium, and bring him in again in whatever way may please thee. And Jesus and the runner went out of the prætorium. And Pilate, summoning those who had formerly held up the standards, says to them: I have sworn by the health of Cæsar, that if the standards do not bend down when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the procurator ordered Jesus to come in the second time. And the runner did in the same manner as before, and made many entreaties to Jesus to walk on his cloak.

And He walked on it, and went in. And as He went in, the standards were again bent down, and adored Jesus.

2. And Pilate seeing this, was afraid, and sought to go away from the tribunal; but when he was still thinking of going away, his wife sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on his account this night. And Pilate, summoning the Jews, says to them: You know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and prefers to adhere to the Jewish religion along with you. They say to him: Yes; we know. Pilate says to them: Behold, my wife has sent to me, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, say unto Pilate: Did we not tell thee that he was a sorcerer? behold, he has sent a dream to thy wife.

And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, says to Him: What do these witness against thee? Sayest thou nothing? And Jesus said: Unless they had the power, they would say nothing; for everyone has the power of his own mouth to speak both good and evil. They shall see to it.

And the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus: What shall we see? first, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the murder of the infants; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled

into Egypt because they had no confidence in the people.

Some of the bystanders, pious men of the Jews, say: We deny that he was born of fornication; for we know that Joseph espoused Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This story of yours is not true, because they were betrothed, as also these fellow-countrymen of yours say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: All the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and are not believed; these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They are by birth children of the Greeks, and have now become Jews. And those that said that He was not born of fornication, viz.—Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Amnes, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippas, and Judas—say: We are not proselytes, but are children of the Jews, and speak of the truth; for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

And Pilate, calling these twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, says to them: I adjure you by the health of Cæsar, to tell me whether it be true that you say, that he was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate: We have a law against taking oaths, because it is a sin; but they will swear by the health of Cæsar, that it is

not as we have said, and we are liable to death. Pilate says to Annas and Caiaphas : Have you nothing to answer to this ? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate : These twelve are believed when they say that he was not born of fornication ; all the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and that he is a sorcerer, and he says that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

And Pilate orders all the multitude to go out, except the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, and he ordered Jesus to be separated from them. And Pilate says to them : For what reason do they wish to put him to death ? They say to him : They are angry because he cures on the Sabbath. Pilate says : For a good work do they wish to put him to death ? They say to him : Yes.

3. And Pilate, filled with rage, went outside of the prætorium, and said to them : I take the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the procurator : Unless this man were an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him to thee. And Pilate said, Do you take him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate : It is not lawful for us to put anyone to death. Pilate said : Has God said that you are not to put to death, but that I am ?

And Pilate went again into the prætorium,

and spoke to Jesus privately, and said to Him : Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate : Dost thou say this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus : Am I also a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have given thee up to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answered : My kingdom is not of this world ; for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight in order that I should not be given up to the Jews : but now my kingdom is not from thence. Pilate said to Him : Art thou then a king? Jesus answered him : Thou sayest that I am a king. Because for this have I been born, and have I come, in order that everyone who is of the Truth might hear my voice. Pilate says to Him : What is Truth? Jesus says to him : Truth is from heaven. Pilate says : Is Truth not upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate : Thou seest how those who speak the Truth are judged by those that have the power upon earth.

4. And leaving Jesus within the prætorium, Pilate went out to the Jews, and said to them : I find no fault in him. The Jews say to him : He said, I can destroy this temple, and in three days build it. Pilate says : What temple? The Jews say : The one that Solomon built in forty-six years, and this man speaks of pulling it down and building it in three days. Pilate says to them : I am innocent of the blood of this just man.

See you to it. The Jews say : His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

And Pilate having summoned the elders and priests and Levites, said to them privately : Do not act thus, because no charge that you bring against him is worthy of death ; for your charge is about curing and Sabbath profanation. The elders and the priests and the Levites say : If anyone speak evil against Cæsar, is he worthy of death or not ? Pilate says : He is worthy of death. The Jews say to Pilate : If anyone speak evil against Cæsar, he is worthy of death ; but this man has spoken evil against God.

And the procurator ordered the Jews to go outside of the prætorium ; and summoning Jesus, he says to Him : What shall I do to thee ? Jesus says to Pilate : As it has been given to thee. Pilate says : How given ? Jesus says : Moses and the prophets have proclaimed beforehand of my death and resurrection. And the Jews noticing this, and hearing it, say to Pilate : What more wilt thou hear of this blasphemy ? Pilate says to the Jews : If these words be blasphemous, do you take him for the blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate : Our law teaches that a man who wrongs his fellow-men is worthy to receive forty save one ; but he that blasphemeth God is to be stoned with stones.

Pilate says to them : Do you take him, and

punish him in whatever way you please. The Jews say to Pilate: We would have him crucified. Pilate says: He deserves not crucifixion.

And the procurator, looking round upon the crowds of the Jews standing by, sees many of the Jews weeping, and says: All the multitude do not wish him to die. The elders of the Jews say: For this reason all the multitude of us have come, that he should die. Pilate says to the Jews: Why should he die? The Jews say: Because he called himself Son of God, and King.

5. And one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the procurator, and said: I beseech your honour, let me say a few words. Pilate says: Say on. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, What do you seek to do with this man? This man does many miracles and strange things, which no one has done or will do. Let him go, and do not wish any evil against him. If the miracles which he does are of God, they will stand; but if of man, they will come to nothing. For assuredly Moses, being sent by God into Egypt, did many miracles, which the Lord commanded him to do before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And there were there Jannes and Jambres, servants of Pharaoh, and they also did not a few of the miracles which Moses did; and the Egyptians took them to be gods—this Jannes and this

Jambres. But, since the miracles which they did were not of God, both they and those who believed in them were destroyed. And now release this man, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and therefore thou defendest him. Nicodemus says to them: Perhaps, too, since he defends him, the procurator has become his disciple. Has the emperor not appointed him to this place of dignity? And the Jews were vehemently enraged, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why do you gnash your teeth against him when you hear the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou receive his truth and his portion. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; may I receive it, as you have said.

6. One of the Jews, stepping up, asked leave of the procurator to say a word. The procurator says: If thou wishest to say anything, say on. And the Jew said: Thirty-eight years I lay in my bed in great agony. And when Jesus came, many demoniacs, and many lying ill of various diseases, were cured by him. And some young men, taking pity on me, carried me, bed and all, and took me to him. And when Jesus saw me, he had compassion on me, and said to me: Take up thy couch and walk. And I took up my couch, and walked. The Jews say to Pilate: Ask him on what day it was that he was cured. He

that had been cured says : On a Sabbath. The Jews say : Is not this the very thing that we said, that on a Sabbath he cures and casts out demons ?

And another Jew stepped up and said : I was born blind ; I heard sounds, but saw not a face. And as Jesus passed by, I cried out with a loud voice, Pity me, O son of David. And he pitied me, and put his hands upon my eyes, and I instantly received my sight. And another Jew stepped up and said : I was crooked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said : I was a leper, and he cured me with a word.

7. And a woman cried out from a distance, and said : I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and the issue of blood which I had had for twelve years was stopped. The Jews say : We have a law, that a woman's evidence is not to be received.

8. And others, a multitude both of men and women, cried out saying : This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to them who said that the demons were subject to him : Why, then, were not your teachers also subject to him ? They say to Pilate : We do not know. And others said : He raised Lazarus from the tomb after he had been dead four days. And the procurator trembled, and said to all the multitude of the Jews : Why do you wish to pour out innocent blood ?

9. And having summoned Nicodemus and the twelve men that said He was not born of fornication, he says to them : What shall I do, because there is an insurrection among the people? They say to him : We know not ; let them see to it. Again Pilate, having summoned all the multitude of the Jews, says : You know that it is customary, at the feast of unleavened bread, to release a prisoner to you. I have a condemned prisoner in the prison, a murderer named Barabbas, and this man standing in your presence, Jesus, in whom I find no fault. Which of them would you have me release to you? And they cry out : Barabbas. Pilate says : What, then, shall we do to Jesus who is called Christ? The Jews say : Let him be crucified. And others said : Thou art no friend of Cæsar's if thou release this man, because he called himself Son of God and king. You wish, then, this man to be king, and not Cæsar?

And Pilate, in a rage, says to the Jews : Always has your nation been rebellious, and you always speak against your benefactors. The Jews say : What benefactors? He says to them : Your God led you out of the land of Egypt from bitter slavery, and brought you safe through the sea as through dry land, and in the desert fed you with manna, and gave you quails, and quenched your thirst with water from a rock, and gave you a law ; and in all these things you provoked your

God to anger, and sought a molten calf. And you exasperated your God, and he sought to slay you. And Moses prayed for you, and you were not put to death. And now you charge me with hating the emperor.

And rising up from the tribunal, he sought to go out. And the Jews cry out, and say : We know that Cæsar is king, and not Jesus. For assuredly the Magi brought gifts to him as to a king. And when Herod heard from the Magi that a king had been born, he sought to slay him ; and his father Joseph, knowing this, took him and his mother, and they fled into Egypt. And Herod hearing of it, destroyed the children of the Hebrews that had been born in Bethlehem.

And when Pilate heard these words, he was afraid ; and ordering the crowd to keep silence, because they were crying out, he says to them : So this is he whom Herod sought ? The Jews say : Yes, it is he. And, taking water, Pilate washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying : I am innocent of the blood of this just man ; see you to it. Again the Jews cry out : His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

Then Pilate ordered the curtain of the tribunal where he was sitting to be drawn, and says to Jesus : Thy nation has charged thee with being a king. On this account I sentence thee, first to be scourged, according to the enactment of venerable kings, and then to be fastened on the cross in the garden where

thou wast seized. And let Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors, be crucified with thee.

10. And Jesus went forth out of the prætorium, and the two malefactors with Him. And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of His clothes, and girded Him with a towel, and put a crown of thorns on Him round His head. And they crucified Him; and at the same time also they hung up the two malefactors along with Him. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted His clothes among them; and the people stood looking at Him. And the chief priests, and the rulers with them, mocked Him, saying: He saved others; let him save himself. If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers made sport of Him, coming near and offering Him vinegar mixed with gall, and said: Thou art the king of the Jews; save thyself.

And Pilate, after the sentence, ordered the charge made against Him to be inscribed as a superscription in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, according to what the Jews had said: He is king of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors hanging up spoke to Him, saying: If thou be the Christ, save thyself and us. And Dysmas answering, reproved him, saying: Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we

receive the fit punishment of our deeds ; but this man has done no evil. And he said to Jesus : Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him : Amen, amen ; I say to thee, To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.

11. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the earth until the ninth hour, the sun being darkened ; and the curtain of the temple was split in the middle. And crying out with a loud voice, Jesus said : Father, *baddach ephkid ruel*, which is, interpreted : Into Thy hands I commit My spirit. And having said this, He gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what had happened, glorified God, and said : This was a just man. And all the crowds that were present at this spectacle, when they saw what had happened, beat their breasts and went away.

And the centurion reported what had happened to the procurator. And when the procurator and his wife heard it, they were exceedingly grieved, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews, and said to them : Have you seen what has happened ? And they say : There has been an eclipse of the sun in the usual way.

And His acquaintances were standing at a distance, and the women who came with Him from Galilee, seeing these things. And a man named Joseph, a councillor from the city of Arimathæa, who also waited for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate, and begged the

body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in clean linen, and placed it in a tomb hewn out of the rock, in which no one had ever lain.

12. And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought him and the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others who had stepped up before Pilate and declared his good works. And of all these that were hid, Nicodemus alone was seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus says to them: How have you come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: How hast thou come into the synagogue? for thou art a confederate of his, and his portion is with thee in the world to come. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen. And likewise Joseph also stepped out and said to them: Why are you angry against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Behold, I have put him in my new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the tomb. And you have acted not well against the just man, because you have not repented of crucifying him, but also have pierced him with a spear. And the Jews seized Joseph, and ordered him to be secured until the first day of the week, and said to him: Know that the time does not allow us to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning; and know that thou shalt not be deemed worthy

of burial, but we shall give thy flesh to the birds of the air. Joseph says to them: These are the words of the arrogant Goliath, who reproached the living God and holy David. For God hath said by the prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. And now he that is uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, has taken water, and washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And ye answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I am afraid lest the wrath of God come upon you, and upon your children, as ye have said. And the Jews, hearing these words, were embittered in their souls, and seized Joseph, and locked him into a room where there was no window; and guards were stationed at the door, and they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in.

And on the Sabbath, the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, made a decree that all should be found in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And rising up early, all the multitude in the synagogue consulted by what death they should slay him. And when the Sanhedrim was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity. And having opened the door, they found him not. And all the people were surprised, and struck with dismay, because they found the seals unbroken, and because Caiaphas had the key. And they

no longer dared to lay hands upon those who had spoken before Pilate in Jesus' behalf.

13. And while they were still sitting in the synagogue, and wondering about Joseph, there come some of the guard whom the Jews had begged of Pilate to guard the tomb of Jesus, that His disciples might not come and steal Him. And they reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what had happened : how there had been a great earthquake ; and we saw an angel coming down from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the tomb, and sat upon it ; and he shone like snow, and like lightning. And we were very much afraid, and lay like dead men ; and we heard the voice of the angel saying to the women who remained beside the tomb, Be not afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here : He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay : and go quickly, and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

The Jews say : To what women did he speak ? The men of the guard say : We do not know who they were. The Jews say : At what time was this ? The men of the guard say : At midnight. The Jews say : And wherefore did you not lay hold of them ? The men of the guard say : We were like dead men from fear, not expecting to see the light of day, and how could we lay hold of them ? The Jews say : As the Lord

liveth, we do not believe you. The men of the guard say to the Jews: You have seen so great miracles in the case of this man, and have not believed; and how can you believe us? And assuredly you have done well to swear that the Lord liveth, for indeed He does live. Again the men of the guard say: We have heard that you have locked up the man that begged the body of Jesus, and put a seal on the door; and that you have opened it, and not found him. Do you then give us the man whom you were guarding, and we shall give you Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph has gone away to his own city. The men of the guard say to the Jews: And Jesus has risen, as we heard from the angel, and is in Galilee.

And when the Jews heard these words, they were very much afraid, and said: We must take care lest this story be heard, and all incline to Jesus. And the Jews called a council, and paid down a considerable sum of money, and gave it to the soldiers, saying: Say, while we slept, his disciples came by night and stole him; and if this come to the ears of the procurator, we will persuade him, and keep you out of trouble. And they took it, and said as they had been instructed.

14. And Phinces a priest, and Adas a teacher, and Haggai a Levite, came down from Galilee to Jerusalem, and said to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: We saw Jesus and his disciples

sitting on the mountain called Mamilch; and he said to his disciples, Go into all the world, and preach to every creature: he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall attend those who have believed: in my name they shall cast out demons, speak new tongues, take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall be well. And while Jesus was speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.

The elders and the priests and Levites say: Give glory to the God of Israel, and confess to Him whether you have heard and seen those things of which you have given us an account. And those who had given the account said: As the Lord liveth, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and the priests and the Levites say to them: Have you come to give us this announcement, or to offer prayer to God? And they say: To offer prayer to God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say to them: If you have come to offer prayer to God, why then have you told these idle tales in the presence of all the people? Says Phinees the priest, and Adas the teacher, and Haggai the Levite, to the rulers of the synagogues, and the priests and the Levites: If what we have said and

seen be sinful, behold, we are before you; do to us as seems good in your eyes. And they took the law, and made them swear upon it, not to give any more an account of these matters to anyone. And they gave them to eat and drink, and sent them out of the city, having given them also money, and three men with them; and they sent them away to Galilee.

And these men having gone into Galilee, the chief priests, and the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders, came together into the synagogue, and locked the door, and lamented with a great lamentation, saying: Is this a miracle that has happened in Israel? And Annas and Caiaphas said: Why are you so much moved? Why do you weep? Do you not know that his disciples have given a sum of gold to the guards of the tomb, and have instructed them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? And the priests and the elders said: Be it that his disciples have stolen his body; how is it that the life has come into his body, and that he is going about in Galilee? And they being unable to give an answer to these things, said, after great hesitation: It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised.

15. And Nicodemus stood up, and stood before the Sanhedrim, saying: You say well; you are not ignorant, you people of the Lord, of these men that come down from Galilee,

that they fear God, and are men of substance, haters of covetousness, men of peace; and they have declared with an oath, We saw Jesus upon the mountain Mamilch with his disciples, and he taught what we heard from him, and we saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them in what form he went up. For assuredly, as the book of the Holy Scriptures taught us, Helias also was taken up into heaven, and Elissæus cried out with a loud voice, and Helias threw his sheepskin upon Elissæus, and Elissæus threw his sheepskin upon the Jordan, and crossed, and came into Jericho. And the children of the prophets met him, and said, O Elissæus, where is thy master Helias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elissæus, Has not a spirit seized him, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But let us take our servants with us, and seek him. And they persuaded Elissæus, and he went away with them. And they sought him three days, and did not find him; and they knew that he had been taken up. And now listen to me, and let us send into every district of Israel, and see lest perchance Christ has been taken up by a spirit, and thrown upon one of the mountains. And this proposal pleased all. And they went into every district of Israel, and sought Jesus, and did not find Him; but they found Joseph in Arimathæa, and no one dared to lay hands on him.

And they reported to the elders, and the priests, and the Levites : We have gone round to every district of Israel, and have not found Jesus ; but Joseph we have found in Arimathea. And hearing about Joseph, they were glad, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, having held a council as to the manner in which they should meet with Joseph, took a piece of paper, and wrote to Joseph as follows :

Peace to thee ! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee ; and we have prayed to the God of Israel, that thou shouldst deign to come to thy fathers, and to thy children, because we have all been grieved. For having opened the door, we did not find thee. And we know that we have counselled evil counsel against thee ; but the Lord has defended thee, and the Lord Himself has scattered to the winds our counsel against thee, O honourable father Joseph.

And they chose from all Israel seven men, friends of Joseph, with whom also Joseph himself was acquainted ; and the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, say to them : Take notice : if, after receiving our letter, he read it, know that he will come with you to us ; but if he do not read it, know that he is ill-disposed towards us. And having saluted him in peace, return to us. And having blessed the men, they dismissed

them. And the men came to Joseph, and did reverence to him, and said to him : Peace to thee ! And he said : Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel ! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph having received it, read the letter and rolled it up, and blessed God, and said : Blessed be the Lord God, who hath delivered Israel, that they should not shed innocent blood ; and blessed be the Lord, who sent out His angel, and covered me under His wings. And he set a table for them ; and they ate and drank, and slept there.

And they rose up early, and prayed. And Joseph saddled his ass, and set out with the men ; and they came to the holy city Jerusalem. And all the people met Joseph, and cried out : Peace to thee in thy coming in ! And he said to all the people : Peace to you ! and he kissed them. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him. And Nicodemus received him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders, and the priests, and the Levites to his house. And they rejoiced, eating and drinking with Joseph ; and after singing hymns, each proceeded to his own house. But Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the following day, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites went early to the house of Nicodemus ; and Nicodemus met

them, and said: Peace to you! And they said: Peace to thee, and to Joseph, and to all thy house, and to all the house of Joseph! And he brought them into his house. And all the Sanhedrim sat down, and Joseph sat down between Annas and Caiaphas; and no one dared to say a word to him. And Joseph said: Why have you called me? And they signalled to Nicodemus to speak to Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said to Joseph: Father, thou knowest that the honourable teachers, and the priests and the Levites, seek to learn a word from thee. And Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas having taken the law, made Joseph swear, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give Him confession; for Achar being made to swear by the prophet Jesus, did not forswear himself, but declared unto him all, and did not hide a word from him. Do thou also accordingly not hide from us to the extent of a word. And Joseph said: I shall not hide from you one word. And they said to him: With grief were we grieved because thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. And on account of this we secured thee in a room where there was no window; and we put locks and seals upon the doors, and guards kept watching where thou wast locked in. And on the first day of the week we opened, and found thee not, and were grieved exceedingly; and astonishment fell upon all

the people of the Lord until yesterday. And now relate to us what has happened to thee.

And Joseph said: On the preparation, about the tenth hour, you locked me up, and I remained all the Sabbath. And at midnight, as I was standing and praying, the room where you locked me in was hung up by the four corners, and I saw as it were a flashing of light in mine eyes. And I was afraid, and fell to the ground. And someone took me by the hand, and removed me from the place where I had fallen; and moisture of water was poured from my head even to my feet, and a smell of perfumes came about my nostrils. And he wiped my face, and kissed me, and said to me, Fear not, Joseph; open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking up, I saw Jesus. And I trembled, and thought it was a phantom; and I said the commandments, and he said them with me. Even so you are not ignorant that a phantom, if it meet anybody, and hear the commandments, takes to flight. And seeing that he said them with me, I said to him, Rabbi Helias. And he said to me, I am not Helias. And I said to him, Who art thou, my lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate; and thou didst clothe me with clean linen, and didst put a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the tomb. And I said to him that was speaking to me, Shew me

the place where I laid thee. And he carried me away, and shewed me the place where I laid him; and the linen cloth was lying in it, and the napkin for his face. And I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand, and placed me, though the doors were locked, in the middle of my house, and led me away to my bed, and said to me, Peace to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me, For forty days go not forth out of thy house; for, behold, I go to my brethren into Galilee.

16. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, when they heard these words from Joseph, became as dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus, along with Joseph, exhorted Annas and Caiaphas, the priests and the Levites, saying: Rise up and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and strengthen your souls, because to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they rose up, and prayed to God, and ate and drank, and departed every man to his own house.

And on the Sabbath our teachers and the priests and Levites sat questioning each other, and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? for we know his father and mother. Levi, a teacher, says: I know that his parents fear God, and do not withdraw themselves from the prayers, and give the tithes thrice a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him to this place, and gave sacrifices and burnt-offerings to

God. And when the great teacher Simeon took him into his arms, he said, Now Thou sendest away Thy servant, Lord, according to Thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all the peoples: a light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And Simeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother, I give thee good news about this child. And Mary said, It is well, my lord. And Simeon said to her, It is well; behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against; and of thee thyself a sword shall go through the soul, in order that the reasoning of many hearts may be revealed.

They say to the teacher Levi: How knowest thou these things? Levi says to them: Do you not know that from him I learnt the law? The Sanhedrim say to him: We wish to see thy father. And they sent for his father. And they asked him; and he said to them: Why have you not believed my son? The blessed and just Simeon himself taught him the law. The Sanhedrim say to Rabbi Levi: Is the word that you have said true? And he said: It is true. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, said to themselves: Come, let us send unto Galilee to the three men that came and told about his teaching and his taking up, and let them tell us how

they saw him taken up. And this saying pleased all. And they sent away the three men who had already gone away into Galilee with them; and they say to them: Say to Rabbi Adas, and Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai: Peace to you, and all who are with you! A great inquiry having taken place in the Sanhedrim, we have been sent to you to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.

And the men set out into Galilee, and found them sitting and considering the law; and they saluted them in peace. And the men who were in Galilee said to those who had come to them: Peace upon all Israel! And they said: Peace to you! And they again said to them: Why have you come? And those who had been sent said: The Sanhedrim call you to the holy city Jerusalem. And when the men heard that they were sought by the Sanhedrim, they prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank, and rose up, and set out in peace to Jerusalem.

And on the following day the Sanhedrim sat in the synagogue, and asked them, saying: Did you really see Jesus sitting on the mountain Mamilch teaching his eleven disciples, and did you see him taken up? And the men answered them, and said: As we saw him taken up, so also we said.

Annas says: Take them away from one another, and let us see whether their account agrees. And they took them away from one another. And first they call Adas, and say

to him : How didst thou see Jesus taken up ? Adas says : While he was yet sitting on the mountain Mamilch, and teaching his disciples, we saw a cloud overshadowing both him and his disciples. And the cloud took him up into heaven, and his disciples lay upon their face upon the earth. And they call Phinees the priest, and ask him also, saying : How didst thou see Jesus taken up ? And he spoke in like manner. And they again asked Haggai, and he spoke in like manner. And the Sanhedrim said : The law of Moses holds : At the mouth of two or three every word shall be established. Buthem, a teacher, says : It is written in the law, and Enoch walked with God, and is not, because God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said : And the death of holy Moses we have heard of, and have not seen it ; for it is written in the law of the Lord, And Moses died from the mouth of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said : Why did Rabbi Simeon say, when he saw Jesus, Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against ? And Rabbi Isaac said : It is written in the law, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, because my name has been called upon him.

Then Annas and Caiaphas said : Rightly have you said what is written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch,

and no one has named the death of Moses ; but Jesus was tried before Pilate, and we saw him receiving blows and spittings on his face, and the soldiers put upon him a crown of thorns, and he was scourged, and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified upon the Cranium, and two robbers with him ; and they gave him to drink vinegar with gall, and Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear ; and Joseph our honourable father begged his body, and, as he says, he is risen ; and as the three teachers say, We saw him taken up into heaven ; and Rabbi Levi has given evidence of what was said by Rabbi Simeon, and that he said, Behold, he lies for the fall [and] rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against. And all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord : If this was from the Lord, and is wonderful in your eyes, knowing you shall know, O house of Jacob, that it is written : Cursed is everyone that hangeth upon a tree. And another scripture teaches : The gods which have not made the heaven and the earth shall be destroyed. And the priests and the Levites said to each other : If his memorial be until the [year] that is called Jobel, know that it shall endure for ever, and he hath raised for himself a new people. Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, announced to all Israel, saying : Cursed is that man who shall worship the work of man's hand, and cursed

is the man who shall worship the creatures more than the Creator. And all the people said, Amen, amen.

And all the people praised the Lord, and said : Blessed is the Lord, who hath given rest to His people Israel, according to all that He hath spoken ; there hath not fallen one word of every good word of His that He spoke to Moses His servant. May the Lord our God be with us, as He was with our fathers : let Him not destroy us. And let Him not destroy us, that we may incline our hearts to Him, that we may walk in all His ways, that we may keep His commandments and His judgments which He commanded to our fathers. And the Lord shall be for a king over all the earth in that day ; and there shall be one Lord, and His name one. The Lord is our king : He shall save us. There is none like Thee, O Lord. Great art Thou, O Lord, and great is Thy name. By Thy power heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed : save us, O Lord, and we shall be saved ; because we are Thy lot and heritage. And the Lord will not leave His people, for His great name's sake ; for the Lord has begun to make us into His people.

And all, having sung praises, went away each man to his own house, glorifying God ; for His is the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

PART II.—THE DESCENT INTO HADES

I

And Joseph arose and said unto Annas and Caiaphas : Truly and of right do ye marvel because ye have heard that Jesus hath been seen alive after death, and that he hath ascended into heaven. Nevertheless it is more marvellous that he rose not alone from the dead, but did raise up alive many other dead out of their sepulchres, and they have been seen of many in Jerusalem. And now hearken unto me ; for we all know the blessed Simeon, the high-priest which received the child Jesus in his hands in the temple. And this Simeon had two sons, brothers in blood, and we all were at their falling asleep and at their burial. Go therefore and look upon their sepulchres : for they are open, because they have risen, and behold they are in the city of Arimathæa dwelling together in prayer. And indeed men hear them crying out, yet they speak with no man, but are silent as dead men. But come, let us go unto them and with all honour and gentleness bring them unto us, and if we adjure them, perchance they will tell us concerning the mystery of their rising again.

When they heard these things, they all rejoiced. And Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus and Joseph and Gamaliel went and found them not in their sepulchre, but they went unto the city of Arimathæa, and found them there, kneeling on their knees and giving themselves unto prayer. And they kissed them, and with all reverence and in the fear of God they brought them to Jerusalem into the synagogue. And they shut the doors and took the law of the Lord and put it into their hands, and adjured them by the God Adonai and the God of Israel which spake unto our fathers by the prophets, saying: Believe ye that it is Jesus which raised you from the dead? Tell us how ye have arisen from the dead.

And when Karinus and Leucius heard this adjuration, they trembled in their body and groaned, being troubled in heart. And looking up together unto heaven they made the seal of the cross with their fingers upon their tongues, and forthwith they spake both of them, saying: Give us each a volume of paper, and let us write that which we have seen and heard. And they gave them unto them, and each of them sat down and wrote, saying:

II

O Lord Jesu Christ, the life and resurrection of the dead (*al.* resurrection of the dead and the life of the living), suffer us to speak

of the mysteries of thy majesty which thou didst perform after thy death upon the cross, inasmuch as we have been adjured by thy Name. For thou didst command us thy servants to tell no man the secrets of thy divine majesty which thou wroughtest in hell.

Now when we were set together with all our fathers in the deep, in obscurity of darkness, on a sudden there came a golden heat of the sun and a purple and royal light shining upon us. And immediately the father of the whole race of men, together with all the patriarchs and prophets, rejoiced, saying : This light is the beginning (author) of everlasting light which did promise to send unto us his co-eternal light. And Esaias cried out and said : This is the light of the Father, even the Son of God, according as I prophesied when I lived upon the earth : The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim beyond Jordan, of Galilee of the Gentiles, the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, and they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them did the light shine. And now hath it come and shone upon us that sit in death.

And as we all rejoiced in the light which shined upon us, there came unto us our father Simeon, and he rejoicing said unto us : Glorify ye the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God ; for I received him in my hands in the temple when he was born a child, and being moved of the Holy Ghost I made confession

and said unto him : Now have mine eyes seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel. And when they heard these things, the whole multitude of the saints rejoiced yet more.

And after that there came one as it were a dweller in the wilderness, and he was inquired of by all : Who art thou ? And he answered them and said : I am John, the voice and the prophet of the most High, which came before the face of his advent to prepare his ways, to give knowledge of salvation unto his people, for the remission of their sins. And when I saw him coming unto me, being moved of the Holy Ghost, I said : Behold the Lamb of God, behold him that taketh away the sins of the world. And I baptised him in the river of Jordan, and saw the Holy Ghost descending upon him in the likeness of a dove, and heard a voice out of heaven saying : This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And now have I come before his face, and come down to declare unto you that he is at hand to visit us, even the dayspring, the Son of God, coming from on high unto us that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

III

And when father Adam that was first created heard this, even that Jesus was

baptised in Jordan, he cried out to Seth his son, *saying*: Declare unto thy sons the patriarchs and the prophets all that thou didst hear from Michael the archangel, when I sent thee unto the gates of paradise that thou mightest entreat God to send thee his angel to give thee the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint my body when I was sick. Then Seth drew near unto the holy patriarchs and prophets, and said: When I, Seth, was praying at the gates of paradise, behold Michael the angel of the Lord appeared unto me, saying: I am sent unto thee from the Lord: it is I that am set over the body of man. And I say unto thee, Seth, vex not thyself with tears, praying and entreating for the oil of the tree of mercy, that thou mayest anoint thy father Adam for the pain of his body: for thou wilt not be able to receive it save in the last days and times, save when five thousand and five hundred (*al.* 5,952) years are accomplished: then shall the most beloved Son of God come upon the earth to raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the dead, and he shall come and be baptised in Jordan. And when he is come forth of the water of Jordan, then shall he anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe on him, and that oil of mercy shall be unto all generations of them that shall be born of water and of the Holy Ghost, unto life eternal. Then shall the most beloved Son of God, even Christ Jesus, come down upon the earth and shall

bring in our father Adam into paradise unto the tree of mercy.

And when they heard all these things of Seth, all the patriarchs and prophets rejoiced with a great rejoicing.

IV

And while all the saints were rejoicing, behold Satan the prince and chief of death said unto Hell : Make thyself ready to receive Jesus who boasteth himself that he is the Son of God, whereas he is a man that feareth death, and sayeth : My soul is sorrowful even unto death. And he hath been much mine enemy, doing me great hurt, and many that I had made blind, lame, dumb, leprous, and possessed he hath healed with a word : and some whom I have brought unto thee dead, them hath he taken away from thee.

Hell answered and said unto Satan the prince : Who is he that is so mighty, if he be a man that feareth death ? for all the mighty ones of the earth are held in subjection by my power, even they whom thou hast brought me subdued by thy power. If, then, thou art mighty, what manner of man is this Jesus who, though he fear death, resisteth thy power ? If he be so mighty in his manhood, verily I say unto thee he is almighty in his godhead, and no man can withstand his power. And when he saith that he feareth death, he would ensnare thee, and woe shall

be unto thee for everlasting ages. But Satan the prince of Tartarus said: Why doubttest thou and fearest to receive this Jesus, which is thine adversary and mine? For I tempted him, and I have stirred up mine ancient people of the Jews with envy and wrath against him. I have sharpened a spear to thrust him through, gall and vinegar have I mingled to give him to drink, and I have prepared a cross to crucify him and nails to pierce him: and his death is nigh at hand, that I may bring him unto thee to be subject unto thee and me.

Hell answered and said: Thou hast told me that it is he that hath taken away dead men from me. For there be many which while they lived on the earth have taken dead men from me, yet not by their own power but by prayer to God, and their almighty God hath taken them from me. Who is this Jesus which by his own word without prayer hath drawn dead men from me? Perchance it is he which by the word of his command did restore to life Lazarus which was four days dead and stank and was corrupt, whom I held here dead. Satan the prince of death answered and said: It is that same Jesus. When Hell heard that he said unto him: I adjure thee by thy strength and mine own that thou bring him not unto me. For at that time I, when I heard the command of his word, did quake and was overwhelmed with fear, and all my ministries with me were

troubled. Neither could we keep Lazarus, but he like an eagle shaking himself leaped forth with all agility and swiftness, and departed from us, and the earth also which held the dead body of Lazarus straightway gave him up alive. Wherefore now I know that that man which was able to do these things is a God strong in command and mighty in manhood, and that he is the saviour of mankind. And if thou bring him unto me he will set free all that are here shut up in the hard prison and bound in the chains of their sins that cannot be broken, and will bring them unto the life of his godhead for ever.

V

And as Satan the prince, and Hell, spoke thus together, suddenly there came a voice as of thunder and a spiritual cry : Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. When Hell heard that he said unto Satan the prince : Depart from me and go out of mine abode : if thou be a mighty man of war, fight thou against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with him? And Hell cast Satan forth out of his dwelling. Then said Hell unto his wicked ministers : Shut ye the hard gates of brass and put on them the bars of iron and withstand stoutly, lest we that hold captivity be taken captive.

But when all the multitude of the saints

heard it, they spake with a voice of rebuking unto Hell : Open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And David cried out, saying : Did I not when I was alive upon earth, foretell unto you : Let them give thanks unto the Lord, even his mercies and his wonders unto the children of men ; who hath broken the gates of brass and smitten the bars of iron in sunder ? he hath taken them out of the way of their iniquity. And thereafter in like manner Esaias said : Did not I when I was alive upon earth foretell unto you : The dead shall arise, and they that are in the tombs shall rise again, and they that are in the earth shall rejoice, for the dew which cometh of the Lord is their healing ? And again I said : O death, where is thy sting ? O Hell, where is thy victory ?

When they heard that of Esaias, all the saints said unto Hell : Open thy gates : now shalt thou be overcome and weak and without strength. And there came a great voice as of thunder, saying : Remove, O princes, your gates, and be ye lift up ye doors of hell, and the King of glory shall come in. And when Hell saw that they so cried out twice, he said, as if he knew it not : Who is the King of glory ? And David answered Hell and said : The words of this cry do I know, for by his spirit I prophesied the same ; and now I say unto thee that which I said before : The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle, he is the King of glory. And : The Lord

looked down from heaven that he might hear the groanings of them that are in fetters and deliver the children of them that have been slain. And now, O thou most foul and stinking Hell, open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And as David spake thus unto Hell, the Lord of majesty appeared in the form of a man and lightened the eternal darkness and brake the bonds that could not be loosed : and the succour of his everlasting might visited us that sat in the deep darkness of our transgressions and in the shadow of death of our sins.

VI

When Hell and death and their wicked ministers saw that, they were stricken with fear, they and their cruel officers, at the sight of the brightness of so great light in their own realm, seeing Christ of a sudden in their abode, and they cried out, saying : We are overcome by thee. Who art thou that art sent by the Lord for our confusion ? Who art thou that without all damage of corruption, and with the signs (?) of thy majesty unblemished, dost in wrath condemn our power ? Who art thou that art so great and so small, both humble and exalted, both soldier and commander, a marvellous warrior in the shape of a bondsman, and a King of glory dead and living, whom the cross bare slain upon it ? Thou that didst lie dead in the sepulchre hast come down unto us living :

and at thy death all creation quaked and all the stars were shaken : and thou hast become free among the dead and dost rout our legions. Who art thou that settest free the prisoners that are held bound by original sin and restorest them into their former liberty? Who art thou that sheddest thy divine and bright light upon them that were blinded with the darkness of their sins? After the same manner all the legions of devils were stricken with like fear and cried out all together in the terror of their confusion, saying : Whence art thou, Jesus, a man so mighty and bright in majesty, so excellent, without spot and clean from sin? For that world of earth which hath been alway subject unto us until now, and did pay tribute to our profit, hath never sent unto us a dead man like thee, nor ever dispatched such a gift unto Hell. Who then art thou that so fearlessly enterest our borders, and not only fearest not our torments, but besides essayest to bear away all men out of our bonds? Peradventure thou art that Jesus, of whom Satan our prince said that by thy death of the cross thou shouldest receive the dominion of the whole world.

Then did the King of glory in his majesty trample upon death, and laid hold on Satan the prince and delivered him unto the power of Hell, and drew Adam to him unto his own brightness.

VII

Then Hell, receiving Satan the prince, with sore reproach said unto him : O prince of perdition and chief of destruction, Beelzebub, the scorn of the angels and spitting of the righteous, why wouldest thou do this? Thou wouldest crucify the King of glory, and at his decease didst promise us great spoils of his death : like a fool thou knewest not what thou didst. For behold, now, this Jesus putteth to flight by the brightness of his majesty all the darkness of death, and hath broken the strong depths of the prisons, and let out the prisoners, and loosed them that were bound. And all that were sighing in our torments do rejoice against us, and at their prayers our dominions are vanquished and our realms conquered, and now no nation of men feareth us any more. And beside this, the dead which were never wont to be proud triumph over us, and the captives which never could be joyful do threaten us. O prince Satan, father of all the wicked and ungodly and renegades, wherefore wouldest thou do this? They that from the beginning until now have despaired of life and salvation—now is none of their wonted roarings heard, neither doth any groan from them sound in our ears, nor is there any sign of tears upon the face of any of them. O prince Satan, holder of the keys of hell, those thy riches which thou hadst gained by the tree of transgression and

the losing of paradise, thou hast lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy gladness hath perished. When thou didst hang up Christ Jesus the King of glory thou wroughtest against thyself and against me. Henceforth thou shalt know what eternal torments and infinite pains thou art to suffer in my keeping for ever. O prince Satan, author of death and head of all pride, thou oughtest first to have sought out matter of evil in this Jesus : Wherefore didst thou adventure without cause to crucify him unjustly against whom thou foundest no blame, and to bring into our realm the innocent and righteous one, and to lose the guilty and the ungodly and unrighteous of the whole world ?

And when Hell had spoken thus unto Satan the prince, then said the King of glory unto Hell : Satan the prince shall be in thy power unto all ages in the stead of Adam and his children, even those that are my righteous ones.

VIII

And the Lord stretching forth his hand, said : Come unto me, all ye my saints which bear mine image and my likeness. Ye that by the tree and the devil and death were condemned, behold now the devil and death condemned by the tree. And forthwith all the saints were gathered in one under the hand of the Lord. And the Lord holding the

right hand of Adam, said unto him : Peace be unto thee with all thy children that are my righteous ones. But Adam, casting himself at the knees of the Lord, entreated him with tears and beseechings, and said with a loud voice : I will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set me up and not made my foes to triumph over me : O Lord my God, I cried unto thee and thou hast healed me ; Lord, thou hast brought my soul out of hell, thou hast delivered me from them that go down to the pit. Sing praises unto the Lord, all ye saints of his, and give thanks unto *him for the* remembrance of his holiness. For there is wrath in his indignation and life is in his good pleasure. In like manner all the saints of God kneeled and cast themselves at the feet of the Lord, saying with one accord : Thou art come, O redeemer of the world : that which thou didst foretell by the law and by thy prophets, that hast thou accomplished in deed. Thou hast redeemed the living by thy cross, and by the death of the cross thou hast come down unto us, that thou mightest save us out of hell and death through thy majesty. O Lord, like as thou hast set the name of thy glory in the heavens and set up thy cross for a token of redemption upon the earth, so, Lord, set thou up the sign of the victory of thy cross in hell, that death may have no more dominion.

And the Lord stretched forth his hand and made the sign of the cross over Adam and

over all his saints, and he took the right hand of Adam and went up out of hell, and all the saints followed him. Then did holy David cry aloud and say : Sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done marvellous things. His right hand hath wrought salvation for him and his holy arm. The Lord hath made known his saving health, before the face of all nations hath he revealed his righteousness. And the whole multitude of the saints answered, saying : Such honour have all his saints. Amen, Alleluia.

And thereafter Habacuc the prophet cried out and said : Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people to set free thy chosen. And all the saints answered, saying : Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is the Lord and hath showed us light. Amen, Alleluia.

Likewise after that the prophet Micheas also cried, saying : What God is like thee, O Lord, taking away iniquity and removing sins ? and now thou withholdest thy wrath for a testimony that thou art merciful of free will, and thou dost turn away and have mercy on us, thou forgivest all our iniquities and hast sunk all our sins in the depths of the sea, as thou swarest unto our fathers in the days of old. And all the saints answered, saying : This is our God for ever and ever, he shall be our guide, world without end. Amen, Alleluia. And so spake all the prophets, making mention of holy words out of their praises, and all the

saints followed the Lord, crying: Amen, Alleluia.

IX

But the Lord holding the hand of Adam delivered him unto Michael the archangel, and all the saints followed Michael the archangel, and he brought them all into the glory and beauty (grace) of paradise. And there met with them two men, ancients of days, and when they were asked of the saints: Who are ye that have not yet been dead in hell with us and are set in paradise in the body? then one of them answering, said: I am Enoch which was translated hither by the word of the Lord, and this that is with me is Elias the Thesbite which was taken up in a chariot of fire: and up to this day we have not tasted death, but we are received unto the coming of Antichrist to fight against him with signs and wonders of God, and to be slain of him in Jerusalem, and after three days and a half to be taken up again alive on the clouds.

X

And as Enoch and Elias spake thus with the saints, behold there came another man of vile habit, bearing upon his shoulders the sign of the cross; whom when they beheld, all the saints said unto him: Who art thou? for thine appearance is as of a robber; and wherefore is it that thou bearest a sign upon

thy shoulders? And he answered them and said: Ye have rightly said: for I was a robber, doing all manner of evil upon the earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jesus, and I beheld the wonders in the creation which came to pass through the cross of Jesus when he was crucified, and I believed that he was the maker of all creatures and the almighty king, and I besought him, saying: Remember me, Lord, when thou comest into thy kingdom. And forthwith he received my prayer, and said unto me: Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise: and he gave me the sign of the cross, saying: Bear this and go unto paradise, and if the angel that keepeth paradise suffer thee not to enter in, show him the sign of the cross; and thou shalt say unto him: Jesus Christ the Son of God who now is crucified hath sent me. And when I had so done, I spake all these things unto the angel that keepeth paradise; and when he heard this of me, forthwith he opened the door and brought me in and set me at the right hand of paradise, saying: Lo now, tarry a little, and Adam the father of all mankind will enter in with all his children that are holy and righteous, after the triumph and glory of the ascending up of Christ the Lord that is crucified. When they heard all these words of the robber, all the holy patriarchs and prophets said with one voice: Blessed be the Lord Almighty, the Father of eternal good things, the Father

of mercies, thou that hast given such grace unto thy sinners and hast brought them again into the beauty of paradise and into thy good pastures : for this is the most holy life of the spirit. Amen, Amen.

XI

These are the divine and holy mysteries which we saw and heard, even I, Karinus, and Leucius : but we were not suffered to relate further the rest of the mysteries of God, according as Michael the archangel strictly charged us, saying : Ye shall go with your brethren unto Jerusalem and remain in prayer, crying out and glorifying the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath raised you from the dead together with him : and ye shall not be speaking with any man, but sit as dumb men, until the hour come when the Lord himself suffereth you to declare the mysteries of his godhead. But unto us Michael the archangel gave commandment that we should go over Jordan unto a place rich and fertile, where are many which rose again together with us for a testimony of the resurrection of Christ the Lord. For three days only were allowed unto us who rose from the dead, to keep the passover of the Lord in Jerusalem with our kindred (parents) that are living for a testimony of the resurrection of Christ the Lord : and we were baptised in the holy river of Jordan and received white robes, every one of us. And after the

three days, when we had kept the passover of the Lord, all they were caught up in the clouds which had risen again with us, and were taken over Jordan and were no more seen of any man. But unto us it was said that we should remain in the city of Arimathæa and continue in prayer.

These be all things which the Lord bade us declare unto you : give praise and thanksgiving (confession) unto him, and repent that he may have mercy upon you. Peace be unto you from the same Lord Jesus Christ which is the Saviour of us all. Amen.

And when they had finished writing all things in the several volumes of paper they arose ; and Karinus gave that which he had written into the hands of Annas and Caiaphas and Gamaliel ; likewise Leucius gave that which he had written into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph. And suddenly they were transfigured and *became* white exceedingly and were no more seen. But their writings were found to be the same (*lit.* equal), neither more nor less by one letter.

And when all the synagogue of the Jews heard all these marvellous sayings of Karinus and Leucius, they said one to another : Of a truth all these things were wrought by the Lord, and blessed be the Lord, world without end, Amen. And they went out all of them in great trouble of mind, smiting their breasts with fear and trembling, and departed every man unto his own home.

And all these things which were spoken by the Jews in their synagogue, did Joseph and Nicodemus forthwith declare unto the governor. And Pilate himself wrote all the things that were done and said concerning Jesus by the Jews, and laid up all the words in the public books of his judgment hall (*prætorium*).

XII

After these things Pilate entered into the temple of the Jews and gathered together all the chief of the priests, and the teachers (*grammaticos*) and scribes and doctors of the law, and went in with them into the holy place of the temple and commanded all the doors to be shut, and said unto them: We have heard that ye have in this temple a certain great Bible; wherefore I ask you that it be presented before us. And when that great Bible adorned with gold and precious jewels was brought by four ministers, Pilate said to them all: I adjure you by the God of your fathers which commanded you to build this temple in the place of his sanctuary, that ye hide not the truth from me. Ye know all the things that are written in this Bible; but tell me now if ye have found in the scriptures that this Jesus whom ye have crucified is the Son of God which should come for the salvation of mankind, and in what year of the times he must come. Declare unto me whether ye crucified him in ignorance or knowingly.

And Annas and Caiaphas when they were thus adjured commanded all the rest that were with them to go out of the temple; and they themselves shut all the doors of the temple and of the sanctuary, and said unto Pilate: Thou hast adjured us, O excellent judge, by the building of this temple to make manifest unto thee the truth and reason (*or* a true account). After that we had crucified Jesus, knowing not that he was the Son of God, but supposing that by some chance he did his wondrous works, we made a great assembly (synagogue) in this temple; and as we conferred one with another concerning the signs of the mighty works which Jesus had done, we found many witnesses of our own nation who said that they had seen Jesus alive after his passion, and that he was passed into the height of the heaven. Moreover, we saw two witnesses whom Jesus raised from the dead, who declared unto us many marvellous things which Jesus did among the dead, which things we have in writing in our hands. Now our custom is that every year before our assembly we open this holy Bible and inquire the testimony of God. And we have found in the first book of the Seventy how that Michael the angel spake unto the third son of Adam the first man concerning the five thousand and five hundred years, wherein should come the most beloved Son of God, even Christ: and furthermore we have thought that peradventure this same was the

God of Israel which said unto Moses : Make thee an ark of the covenant in length two cubits and a half, and in breadth one cubit and a half, and in height one cubit and a half. For by those five cubits and a half we have understood and known the fashion of the ark of the old covenant, for that in five thousand and a half *thousand* years Jesus Christ should come in the ark of his body : and we have found that he is the God of Israel, even the Son of God. For after his passion, we the chief of the priests, because we marvelled at the signs which came to pass on his account, did open the Bible, and searched out all the generations unto the generation of Joseph, and Mary the mother of Christ, taking *her* to be the seed of David : and we found that *from the day* when God made the heaven and the earth and the first man, from that time unto the Flood are 2,212 years : and from the Flood unto the building of the tower 531 years : and from the building of the tower unto Abraham 606 years : and from Abraham unto the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt 470 years : and from the going of the children of Israel out of Egypt unto the building of the temple 511 years : and from the building of the temple unto the destruction of the same temple 464 years : so far found we in the Bible of Esdras : and inquiring from the burning of the temple unto the coming of Christ and his birth we found it to be 636 years, which together were five

thousand and five hundred years, like as we found it written in the Bible that Michael the archangel declared before unto Seth the third son of Adam, that after five thousand and a half *thousand* years Christ the Son of God hath (? should) come. Hitherto have we told no man, lest there should be a schism in our synagogues; and now, O excellent judge, thou hast adjured us by this holy Bible of the testimonies of God, and we do declare it unto thee : and we also have adjured thee by thy life and health that thou declare not these words unto any man in Jerusalem.

XIII

And Pilate, when he heard these words of Annas and Caiaphas, laid them all up amongst the acts of the Lord and Saviour in the public books of his judgment hall, and wrote a letter unto Claudius the king of the city of Rome, saying :

Pontius Pilate unto Claudius, greeting.

There befell of late a matter which I myself brought to light (*or* made trial of) : for the Jews through envy have punished themselves and their posterity with fearful judgments of their own fault ; for whereas their fathers had promises (*al.* had announced unto them) that their God would send them out of heaven his holy one who should of right be called their king, and did promise that he would send

him upon earth by a virgin; he, then (*or* this God of the Hebrews, then), came when I was governor of Judæa, and they beheld him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing the palsied, driving devils out of men, raising the dead, rebuking the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea dry-shod, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews calling him the Son of God: the chief priests therefore, moved with envy against him, took him and delivered him unto me and brought against him one false accusation after another, saying that he was a sorcerer and did things contrary to their law.

But I, believing that these things were so, having scourged him, delivered him unto their will: and they crucified him, and when he was buried they set guards upon him. But while my soldiers watched him he rose again on the third day: yet so much was the malice of the Jews kindled that they gave money to the soldiers, saying: Say ye that his disciples stole away his body. But they, though they took the money, were not able to keep silence concerning that which had come to pass, for they also have testified that they saw him arisen and that they received money from the Jews. And these things have I reported <unto thy mightiness> for this cause, lest some other should lie *unto thee* (*Lat.* lest any lie otherwise) and thou shouldest deem right to believe the false tales of the Jews.

THE GOSPEL OF PETER
THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT

THE GOSPEL OF PETER THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT

1. BUT of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod, nor any one of His judges; and since they did not choose to wash them, Pilate arose. And then Herod the king commandeth the Lord to be taken, saying unto them, What things soever I commanded you to do unto Him, do ye.

2. Now there stood there Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and knowing that they were about to crucify Him, he came to Pilate, and begged the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and begged His body; and Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no man had begged Him, we should bury Him, inasmuch as the Sabbath draweth on; for it is written in the law that the sun set not on one that hath died by violence.

3. And he delivered Him to the people before the first day of unleavened bread, their feast. So they took the Lord and pushed Him as they ran, and said, Let us hale the Son of God, since we have gotten power over Him. And they clothed Him with purple, and set Him on a seat of judgment, saying, Judge righteously, O King of Israel. And

one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord, and others stood and spat upon His eyes, and others smote His cheeks; others pierced Him with a reed, and some scourged Him saying, With this honour let us honour the Son of God.

4. And they brought two malefactors, and crucified the Lord in the midst of them; but He held His peace, as in no wise suffering pain. And when they had set up the cross, they placed on it the superscription, This is the King of Israel. And they laid His garments before Him, and parted them, and cast lots upon them. But one of the malefactors upbraided them, saying, We have suffered thus for the ills that we wrought, but this man—what wrong hath He done you in that He became the Saviour of men? And they had indignation against Him, and commanded that His legs should not be broken, to the end that He might die in torments.

5. Now it was midday, and darkness overspread all Judæa; and they were troubled and distressed lest the sun had set, inasmuch as He was yet alive; it is written for them that the sun set not on one that hath died by violence. And one of them said, Give Him gall to drink with vinegar; and they mixed and gave Him to drink. So they accomplished all things, and filled up their sins upon their head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night; and some fell. And the Lord cried aloud, saying,

My power, my power, thou hast left Me; and having said this He was taken up. And the same hour the veil of the temple of Jerusalem was torn in twain.

6. And then they drew the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid Him upon the earth; and the whole earth was shaken, and great fear came upon them. Then the sun shone out, and it was found to be the ninth hour. But the Jews rejoiced, and they gave His body to Joseph to bury it, inasmuch as he beheld all the good things that He did. So he took the Lord and washed Him, and wrapped Him in linen and brought Him into his own tomb, called Joseph's Garden.

7. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, knowing what evil they had done to themselves, began to bewail and say, Woe to our sins! the judgment is at hand, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my fellows was in sorrow, and being wounded at heart we hid ourselves, for we were sought for by them as malefactors and as minded to burn the temple; and besides all this, we were fasting, and we sat mourning and weeping night and day until the Sabbath.

8. But the Scribes and Pharisees and elders, being assembled together and hearing that the whole people murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If these exceeding great signs were wrought at His death, see how righteous He was—the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and

saying, Deliver to us soldiers, that we may guard His sepulchre for three days, lest His disciples come and steal Him away, and the people suppose that He is risen from the dead, and do us mischief. So Pilate delivered unto them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb; and with them there came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone, the centurion and the soldiers, and all who were there together placed it at the door of the sepulchre; and they spread upon it seven seals, and pitched a tent there and kept guard. Now when it was morning, at the dawning of the Sabbath, there came a crowd from Jerusalem and the country round about to see the sepulchre, how it had been sealed.

9. Now on the night when the Lord's Day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard by two and two in a watch, there was a great voice in heaven, and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with much light and draw nigh unto the tomb. And the stone which had been cast at the door rolled away of itself and made way in part, and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in. The soldiers, therefore, when they saw it, awakened the centurion and the elders (for they were also there keeping watch); and as they told the things that they had seen, again they see three men coming forth from the tomb, two of them supporting

the other, and a cross following them; and the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of Him who was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou didst preach to them that sleep; and a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

10. They took counsel, therefore, with one another to go and shew these things unto Pilate. And while they yet thought on this, the heavens again appeared to open, and a man descended and entered into the sepulchre. When they saw this, they of the centurion's company hastened by night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were guarding, and told all that they had seen, greatly distressed and saying, Truly He was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am clean from the blood of the Son of God, but this was your pleasure. Then they all came near and besought him, and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing as to the things which they had seen; for it is expedient for us (they said) to be guilty of a very great sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

11. Now at dawn on the Lord's Day Mary Magdalene, a female disciple of the Lord—afraid by reason of the Jews, forasmuch as they were inflamed with wrath, she had not

done at the sepulchre of the Lord what women are wont to do for those who die and who are dear to them—took with her her female friends, and came to the sepulchre where He was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although we could not weep and bewail Him on the day when He was crucified, let us do so now at His sepulchre. But who shall roll us away the stone which was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by Him, and do the things that are due? for the stone was great, and we fear lest any man see us. And if we cannot, even though we should cast at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of Him, we will weep and bewail Him until we come to our house. So they went and found the tomb open, and they came near and stooped down to look in there; and they see there a young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, fair and clothed with a robe exceeding bright, who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? whom seek ye? Him who was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, stoop down and look in, and see the place where He lay, that He is not here; for He is risen and gone thither from whence He was sent. Then the women fled affrighted.

12. Now it was the last day of unleavened bread, and many went out of the city returning to their houses, the feast being at an end. And we the twelve disciples of the Lord wept and were in sorrow, and every man withdrew

to his house sorrowing for that which had come to pass. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea ; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus whom the Lord . . .

THE REVELATION OF PETER
THE AKHMIM FRAGMENT

THE REVELATION OF PETER THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT

Many of them shall be false prophets, and shall teach ways and diverse doctrines of perdition. And they shall become sons of perdition. And then shall God come unto my faithful ones that hunger and thirst and are afflicted and prove their souls in this life, and shall judge the sons of iniquity.

And the Lord added and said : Let us go unto the mountain (and) pray. And going with him, we the twelve disciples besought him that he would show us one of our righteous brethren that had departed out of the world, that we might see what manner of men they are in their form, and take courage, and encourage also the men that *should* hear us.

And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord (*perhaps add, to the east*) upon whom we were not able to look. For there issued from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining so as the eye of man never saw the like : for no mouth is able to declare nor heart to conceive the glory wherewith they

were clad and the beauty of their countenance. Whom when we saw we were astonished, for their bodies were whiter than any snow and redder than any rose. And the redness of them was mingled with the whiteness, and, in a word, I am not able to declare their beauty. For their hair was curling and flourishing (flowery), and fell comely about their countenance and their shoulders like a garland woven of nard and various flowers, or like a rainbow in the air : such was their comeliness.

We, then, seeing the beauty of them were astonished at them, for they appeared suddenly. And I drew near to the Lord and said : Who are these ? He saith to me : These are your (our) righteous brethren whose appearance ye did desire to see. And I said unto him : And where are all the righteous ? or of what sort is the world wherein they are, and possess this glory ? And the Lord shewed me a very great region outside this world exceeding bright with light, and the air of that place illuminated with the beams of the sun, and the earth of itself flowering with blossoms that fade not, and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible, and bearing blessed fruit. And so great was the blossom that the odour thereof was borne thence even unto us.

And the dwellers in that place were clad with the raiment of shining angels, and their raiment was like unto their land.

And angels ran round about them there. And the glory of them that dwelt there was all equal, and with one voice they praised the Lord God, rejoicing in that place.

The Lord saith unto us : This is the place of your leaders (*or*, high-priests), the righteous men.

And I saw also another place over against that one, very squalid, and it was a place of punishment, and they that were punished and the angels that punished them had their raiment dark, according to the air of the place.

And some there were there hanging by their tongues ; and these were they that blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was laid fire flaming and tormenting them.

And there was a great lake full of flaming mire, wherein were certain men that turned away from righteousness ; and angels, tormentors, were set over them.

And there were also others, women, hanged by their hair above that mire which boiled up ; and these were they that adorned themselves for adultery.

And the men that were joined with them in the defilement of adultery were hanging by their feet, and had their heads hidden in the mire, and said : We believed not that we should come unto this place.

And I saw the murderers and them that were consenting to them cast into a strait

place full of evil, creeping things, and smitten by those beasts, and so turning themselves about in that torment. And upon them were set worms like clouds of darkness. And the souls of them that were murdered stood and looked upon the torment of those murderers and said : O God, righteous is thy judgment.

And hard by that place I saw another strait place wherein the discharge and the stench of them that were in torment ran down, and there was as it were a lake there. And there sat women up to their necks in that liquor, and over against them many children which were born out of due time sat crying : and from them went forth rays of fire and smote the women in the eyes : and these were they that conceived out of wedlock (?) and caused abortion.

And other men and women were being burned up to their middle and cast down in a dark place and scourged by evil spirits, and having their entrails devoured by worms that rested not. And these were they that had persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

And near to them again were women and men gnawing their lips and in torment, and having iron heated in the fire *set* against their eyes. And these were they that did blaspheme and speak evil of the way of righteousness.

And over against these were yet others, men and women, gnawing their tongues and

having flaming fire in their mouths. And these were the false witnesses.

And in another place were gravel-stones sharper than swords or any spit, heated with fire, and men and women clad in filthy rags rolled upon them in torment.¹ And these were they that were rich and trusted in their riches, and had no pity upon orphans and widows but neglected the commandments of God.

And in another great lake full of foul matter (pus) and blood and boiling mire stood men and women up to their knees. And these were they that lent money and demanded usury upon usury.

And other men and women being cast down from a great rock (precipice) fell (came) to the bottom, and again were driven by them that were set over them, to go up upon the rock, and thence were cast down to the bottom and had no rest from this torment. And these were they that did defile their bodies, behaving as women : and the women that were with them were they that lay with one another as a man with a woman.

And beside that rock was a place full of much fire, and there stood men which with their own hands had made images for themselves instead of God, [And beside them other

¹ This is suggested by the LXX of two passages in Job xli. 30, his bed is of sharp spits ; viii. 17, on a heap of stones doth he rest, and shall live in the midst of gravel-stones.

men and women]¹ having rods of fire and smiting one another and never resting from this manner of torment. . . .

And yet others near unto them, men and women, burning and turning themselves about and roasted as in a pan. And these were they that forsook the way of God.

¹ The bracketed words are intrusive.

THE GENUINE EPISTLE OF
S. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

S. CLEMENT OF ROME

I

THE Epistle was written in the name of the Roman Church to the Christian brotherhood at Corinth. The author was Clement, the Bishop of the Roman Christians, but he does not write in his own name. Hence it is mentioned by early Christian writers, sometimes as the work of the Roman Church, sometimes as written by or sent by the hand of Clement. Its date was nearly simultaneous with the close of Domitian's persecution, when the emperor's cousin, Flavius Clemens, the namesake of the writer, perished during or immediately after the year of his consulate (A.D. 95), and his wife Domitilla, Domitian's own niece, was driven into banishment on charges apparently connected with Christianity.

A feud had broken out in the Church of Corinth. Presbyters appointed by Apostles, or their immediate successors, had been unlawfully deposed. A spirit of insubordination was rife. The letter of Clement was written to rebuke these irregularities. Allusion is made in it to the persecution at Rome, as an apology for the delay in attending to the matter. Some information is thus given incidentally respecting the character of the persecution in the course of the letter. But more precise and definite facts are contained elsewhere respecting the earlier and more severe assault on the Christians in the latter years of the reign of Nero, where reference is made especially to the martyrdoms of S. Peter and S. Paul.

2

Besides the patristic quotations, more especially those in Clement of Alexandria, and in some later fathers, the text is mainly due to three sources.

(1) The famous Alexandrian uncial MS. of the New Testament [A] in the British Museum, belonging to the fifth century, to which it is added as a sort of appendix

together with the spurious so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. This MS. is mutilated at the close of both Epistles besides being torn or illegible in many passages of the first. From this was published the *Editio princeps* of Patricius Junius (1633).

(2) The Constantinopolitan or Hierosolymitan MS. [C] belonging to the library of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose chief residence is at Constantinople. From this the two Epistles of Clement (the Genuine and the Spurious) were first printed in full (1875) by Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Serræ, but now Patriarch of Nicomedia. This MS. is dated A.D. 1056.

(3) The Syriac translation discovered a few years ago and now in the possession of the Cambridge University Library. This is not yet published, but all the various readings were given in Lightfoot's *S. Clement of Rome*, Appendix, London, 1877. This Syriac Version bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1170.

The relations of these authorities are fully discussed in the larger edition of Clement. Here it is sufficient to say that A, as being the most ancient, is likewise far the best authority; but owing to the lacunæ in it and for other reasons the two other authorities are of the highest value in different ways.

The square brackets [] throughout the text denote that a word so included is of doubtful authority and ought perhaps to be neglected; corruptions in the text are indicated by daggers †† placed on each side of the corrupt passage.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

1885.

THE GENUINE EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

THE Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth, to them which are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace from Almighty God through Jesus Christ be multiplied.

1. By reason of the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us, brethren, we consider that we have been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you, dearly beloved, and to the detestable and unholy sedition, so alien and strange to the elect of God, which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled to such a pitch of madness that your name, once revered and renowned and lovely in the sight of all men, hath been greatly reviled. For who that had sojourned among you did not approve your most virtuous and steadfast faith? Who did not admire your sober and forbearing piety in Christ? Who did not publish abroad your magnificent disposition of hospitality? Who did not congratulate you on your perfect and sound knowledge? For ye did all things

without respect of persons, and ye walked after the ordinances of God, submitting yourselves to your rulers and rendering to the older men among you the honour which is their due. On the young too ye enjoined modest and seemly thoughts: and the women ye charged to perform all their duties in a blameless and seemly and pure conscience, cherishing their own husbands, as is meet; and ye taught them to keep in the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household in seemliness, with all discretion.

2. And ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance, yielding rather than claiming submission, *more glad to give than to receive*, and content with the provisions which God supplieth. And giving heed unto His words, ye laid them up diligently in your hearts, and His sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and rich peace was given to all, and an insatiable desire of doing good. An abundant outpouring also of the Holy Spirit fell upon all; and, being full of holy counsel, in excellent zeal and with a pious confidence ye stretched out your hands to Almighty God, supplicating Him to be propitious, if unwillingly ye had committed any sin. Ye had conflict day and night for all the brotherhood, that the number of His elect might be saved with fearfulness and intentness of mind. Ye were sincere and simple and free from malice one towards another. Every sedition and every schism was abominable to you.

Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours: ye judged their shortcomings to be your own. Ye repented not of any well-doing, but were *ready unto every good work*. Being adorned with a most virtuous and honourable life, ye performed all your duties in the fear of Him. The commandments and the ordinances of the Lord were *written on the tables of your hearts*.

3. All glory and enlargement was given unto you, and that was fulfilled which is written: *My beloved ate and drank and was enlarged and waxed fat and kicked*. Hence come jealousy and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and tumult, war and captivity. So men were stirred up, *the mean against the honourable*, the ill-reputed against the highly-reputed, the foolish against the wise, *the young against the elder*. For this cause *righteousness and peace stand aloof*, while each man hath forsaken the fear of the Lord and become purblind in the faith of Him, neither walketh in the ordinances of His commandments nor liveth according to that which becometh Christ, but each goeth after the lusts of his evil heart, seeing that they have conceived an unrighteous and ungodly jealousy, through which also *death entered into the world*.

4. For so it is written: *And it came to pass after certain days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God, and Abel he also brought of the firstlings of the sheep and of*

*their fatness. And God looked upon Abel and upon his gifts, but unto Cain and unto his sacrifices He gave no heed. And Cain sorrowed exceedingly, and his countenance fell. And God said unto Cain, Wherefore art thou very sorrowful? and wherefore did thy countenance fall? If thou hast offered aright and hast not divided aright, didst thou not sin? Hold thy peace. Unto thee shall he turn, and thou shalt rule over him. And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go over unto the plain. And it came to pass, while they were in the plain, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him. Ye see, brethren, jealousy and envy wrought a brother's murder. By reason of jealousy our father Jacob ran away from the face of Esau his brother. Jealousy caused Joseph to be persecuted even unto death, and to come even unto bondage. Jealousy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt while it was said to him by his own countryman: *Who made thee a judge or a decider over us? Wouldest thou slay me, even as yesterday thou slewest the Egyptian?* By reason of jealousy Aaron and Miriam were lodged outside the camp. Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram down alive to Hades, because they made sedition against Moses the servant of God. By reason of jealousy David was envied not only by the Philistines, but was persecuted also by Saul [king of Israel].*

5. But, to pass from the examples of ancient

days, let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. There was Peter who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance.

6. Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves. By reason of jealousy women being persecuted, after that they had suffered cruel and unholy insults †as Danaids and Dircaë†, safely reached the goal in the race

of faith, and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body. Jealousy hath estranged wives from their husbands and changed the saying of our father Adam : *This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh.* Jealousy and strife have overthrown great cities and uprooted great nations.

7. These things, dearly beloved, we write, not only as admonishing you, but also as putting ourselves in remembrance. For we are in the same lists, and the same contest awaiteth us. Wherefore let us forsake idle and vain thoughts ; and let us conform to the glorious and venerable rule which hath been handed down to us ; and let us see what is good and what is pleasant and what is acceptable in the sight of Him that made us. Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto His Father, because being shed for our salvation it won for the whole world the grace of repentance. Let us review all the generations in turn, and learn how from generation to generation the Master hath given a place for repentance unto them that desire to turn to Him. Noah preached repentance, and they that obeyed were saved. Jonah preached destruction unto the men of Nineveh ; but they, repenting of their sins, obtained pardon of God by their supplications and received salvation, albeit they were aliens from God.

8. The ministers of the grace of God through the Holy Spirit spake concerning repentance.

Yea, and the Master of the universe Himself spake concerning repentance with an oath : *For, as I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner, so much as his repentance ;* and He added also a merciful judgment : *Repent ye, O house of Israel, of your iniquity ; say unto the sons of My people, Though your sins reach from the earth even unto the heaven, and though they be redder than scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, and ye turn unto Me with your whole heart and say Father, I will give ear unto you as unto a holy people.* And in another place He saith on this wise : *Wash, be ye clean. Put away your iniquities from your souls out of My sight. Cease from your iniquities ; learn to do good ; seek out judgment ; defend him that is wronged : give judgment for the orphan, and execute righteousness for the widow ; and come and let us reason together, saith He ; and though your sins be as crimson, I will make them white as snow ; and though they be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool.* And if ye be willing and will hearken unto Me, ye shall eat the good things of the earth ; but if ye be not willing, neither hearken unto Me, a sword shall devour you ; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things. Seeing then that He desireth all His beloved to be partakers of repentance, He confirmed it by an act of His almighty will.

9. Wherefore let us be obedient unto His excellent and glorious will ; and presenting ourselves as suppliants of His mercy and

goodness, let us fall down before Him and betake ourselves unto His compassions, forsaking the vain toil and the strife and the jealousy which leadeth unto death. Let us fix our eyes on them that ministered perfectly unto His excellent glory. Let us set before us Enoch, who being found righteous in obedience was translated, and his death was not found. Noah, being found faithful, by his ministration preached regeneration unto the world, and through him the Master saved the living creatures that entered into the ark in concord.

10. Abraham, who was called the "friend," was found faithful in that he rendered obedience unto the words of God. He through obedience went forth from his land and from his kindred and from his father's house, that leaving a scanty land and a feeble kindred and a mean house he might inherit the promises of God. For He saith unto him: *Go forth from thy land and from thy kindred and from thy father's house unto the land which I shall show thee, and I will make thee into a great nation, and I will bless thee and will magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and I will curse them that curse thee; and in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.* And again, when he was parted from Lot, God said unto him: *Look up with thine eyes, and behold from the place where thou now art, unto the north and the south and the sunrise and the sea; for all the*

land which thou seest, I will give it unto thee and to thy seed for ever; and I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth. If any man can count the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be counted. And again He saith: God led Abraham forth and said unto him, Look up unto the heaven and count the stars, and see whether thou canst number them. So shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. For his faith and hospitality a son was given unto him in old age, and by obedience he offered him a sacrifice unto God on one of the mountains which He showed him.

II. For his hospitality and godliness Lot was saved from Sodom, when all the country round about was judged by fire and brimstone; the Master having thus foreshown that He forsaketh not them which set their hope on Him, but appointeth unto punishment and torment them which swerve aside. For when his wife had gone forth with him, being otherwise-minded and not in accord, she was appointed for a sign hereunto, so that she became a pillar of salt unto this day, that it might be known unto all men that they which are double-minded and they which doubt concerning the power of God are set for a judgment and for a token unto all the generations.

12. For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved. For when the spies were sent forth unto Jericho by Joshua the

son of Nun, the king of the land perceived that they were come to spy out his country, and sent forth men to seize them, that being seized they might be put to death. So the hospitable Rahab received them and hid them in the upper chamber under the flax-stalks. And when the messengers of the king came near and said, *The spies of our land entered in unto thee : bring them forth, for the king so ordereth :* then she answered, *The men truly, whom ye seek, entered in unto me, but they departed forthwith and are journeying on the way ;* and she pointed out to them the opposite road. And she said unto the men : *Of a surety I perceive that the Lord your God delivereth this city unto you ; for the fear and the dread of you is fallen upon the inhabitants thereof. When, therefore, it shall come to pass that ye take it, save me and the house of my father. And they said unto her : It shall be even so as thou hast spoken unto us. Whensoever, therefore, thou perceivest that we are coming, thou shalt gather all thy folk beneath thy roof, and they shall be saved ; for as many as shall be found without the house shall perish.* And moreover they gave her a sign, that she should hang out from her house a scarlet thread, thereby showing beforehand that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption unto all them that believe and hope on God. Ye see, dearly beloved, not only faith, but prophecy, is found in the woman.

13. Let us, therefore, be lowly-minded, brethren, laying aside all arrogance and conceit and folly and anger, and let us do that which is written. For the Holy Ghost saith : *Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, neither the rich in his riches ; but he that boasteth let him boast in the Lord, that he may seek Him out, and do judgment and righteousness ;* most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching forbearance and long-suffering : for thus He spake : *Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy : forgive, that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done to you. As ye give, so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be showed unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.* With this commandment and these precepts let us confirm ourselves, that we may walk in obedience to His hallowed words, with lowliness of mind. For the holy word saith : *Upon whom shall I look, save upon him that is gentle and quiet and feareth Mine oracles ?*

14. Therefore it is right and proper, brethren, that we should be obedient unto God, rather than follow those who in arrogance and unruliness have set themselves up as leaders in abominable jealousy. For we shall bring upon us no common harm, but rather great peril, if we surrender ourselves recklessly to the purposes of men who launch out into

strife and seditions, so as to estrange us from that which is right. Let us be good one towards another according to the compassion and sweetness of Him that made us. For it is written : *The good shall be dwellers in the land, and the innocent shall be left on it ; but they that transgress shall be destroyed utterly from it.* And again He saith : *I saw the ungodly lifted up on high and exalted as the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed by, and behold he was not ; and I sought out his place, and I found it not. Keep innocence and behold uprightness ; for there is a remnant for the peaceful man.*

15. Therefore let us cleave unto them that practise peace with godliness, and not unto them that desire peace with dissimulation. For He saith in a certain place : *This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me ; and again : They blessed with their mouth, but they cursed with their heart.* And again He saith : *They loved Him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied unto Him ; and their heart was not upright with Him, neither were they steadfast in His covenant. For this cause let the deceitful lips be made dumb which speak iniquity against the righteous.* And again : *May the Lord utterly destroy all the deceitful lips, the tongue that speaketh proud things, even them that say, Let us magnify our tongue ; our lips are our own ; who is lord over us ? For the misery of the needy and for the groaning of the poor I will now arise, saith*

the Lord. I will set him in safety ; I will deal boldly by him.

16. For Christ is with them that are lowly of mind, not with them that exalt themselves over the flock. The sceptre [of the majesty] of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though He might have done so, but in lowliness of mind, according as the Holy Spirit spake concerning Him. For He saith : *Lord, who believed our report ? and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed ? We announced Him in His presence. As a child was He, as a root in a thirsty ground. There is no form in Him, neither glory. And we beheld Him, and He had no form nor comeliness, but His form was mean, lacking more than the form of men. He was a man of stripes and of toil, and knowing how to bear infirmity : for His face is turned away. He was dishonoured and held of no account. He beareth our sins and suffereth pain for our sakes : and we accounted Him to be in toil and in stripes and in affliction. And He was wounded for our sins and hath been afflicted for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace is upon Him. With His bruises we were healed. We all went astray like sheep, each man went astray in his own path : and the Lord delivered Him over for our sins. And He openeth not His mouth, because He is afflicted. As a sheep He was led to slaughter ; and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so openeth He not his mouth. In His humiliation*

His judgment was taken away. His generation who shall declare ? For His life is taken away from the earth. For the iniquities of my people He is come to death. And I will give the wicked for His burial, and the rich for His death ; for He wrought no iniquity, neither was guile found in His mouth. And the Lord desireth to cleanse Him from His stripes. If ye offer for sin, your soul shall see a long-lived seed. And the Lord desireth to take away from the toil of His soul, to show Him light and to mould Him with understanding, to justify a Just One that is a good servant unto many. And He shall bear their sins. Therefore He shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong ; because His soul was delivered unto death, and He was reckoned unto the transgressors ; and He bare the sins of many, and for their sins was He delivered up. And again He Himself saith : But I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men and an outcast of the people. All they that beheld me mocked at me ; they spake with their lips ; they wagged their heads, saying, He hoped on the Lord ; let Him deliver him, or let Him save him, for He desireth him. Ye see, dearly beloved, what is the pattern that hath been given unto us ; for, if the Lord was thus lowly of mind, what should we do, who through Him have been brought under the yoke of His grace ?

17. Let us be imitators also of them which went about in goatskins and sheepskins, preaching the coming of Christ. We mean Elijah and Elisha and likewise Ezekiel, the

prophets, and besides them those men also that obtained a good report. Abraham obtained an exceeding good report and was called the friend of God; and looking steadfastly on the glory of God, he saith in lowliness of mind, *But I am dust and ashes*. Moreover concerning Job also it is thus written: *And Job was righteous and unblameable, one that was true and honoured God and abstained from all evil*. Yet he himself accuseth himself saying, *No man is clean from filth; no, not though his life be but for a day*. Moses was called *faithful in all His house*, and through his ministration God judged Egypt with the plagues and the torments which befell them. Howbeit he also, though greatly glorified, yet spake no proud words, but said, when an oracle was given to him at the bush, *Who am I, that Thou sendest me?* Nay, *I am feeble of speech and slow of tongue*. And again he saith, *But I am smoke from the pot*.

18. But what must we say of David that obtained a good report? of whom God said, *I have found a man after My heart, David the son of Jesse: with eternal mercy have I anointed him*. Yet he too saith unto God: *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy great mercy; and according to the multitude of Thy compassions, blot out mine iniquity. Wash me yet more from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Against Thee only did I sin, and I wrought evil in Thy sight;*

that Thou mayest be justified in Thy words, and mayest conquer in Thy pleading. For behold, in iniquities was I conceived, and in sins did my mother bear me. For behold Thou hast loved truth : the dark and hidden things of Thy wisdom hast Thou showed unto me. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be made clean. Thou shalt wash me, and I shall become whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me to hear of joy and gladness. The bones which have been humbled shall rejoice. Turn away Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Make a clean heart within me, O God, and renew a right spirit in mine inmost parts. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and strengthen me with a princely spirit. I will teach sinners Thy ways, and godless men shall be converted unto Thee. Deliver me from bloodguiltiness, O God, the God of my salvation. My tongue shall rejoice in Thy righteousness. Lord, Thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall declare Thy praise. For, if Thou hadst desired sacrifice I would have given it : in whole burnt-offerings Thou wilt have no pleasure. A sacrifice unto God is a contrite spirit ; a contrite and humbled heart God will not despise.

19. The humility, therefore, and the submissiveness of so many and so great men, who have thus obtained a good report, hath through obedience made better not only us but also the generations which were before us,

even them that received His oracles in fear and truth. Seeing then that we have been partakers of many great and glorious doings, let us hasten to return unto the goal of peace which hath been handed down to us from the beginning, and let us look steadfastly unto the Father and Maker of the whole world, and cleave unto His splendid and excellent gifts of peace and benefits. Let us behold Him in our mind, and let us look with the eyes of our soul unto His long-suffering will. Let us note how free from anger He is towards all His creatures.

20. The heavens are moved by His direction and obey Him in peace. Day and night accomplish the course assigned to them by Him, without hindrance one to another. The sun and the moon and the dancing stars according to His appointment circle in harmony within the bounds assigned to them, without any swerving aside. The earth, bearing fruit in fulfilment of His will at her proper seasons, putteth forth the food that supplieth abundantly both men and beasts and all living things which are thereupon, making no dissension, neither altering anything which He hath decreed. Moreover, the inscrutable depths of the abysses and the unutterable †statutes† of the nether regions are constrained by the same ordinances. The basin of the boundless sea, gathered together by His workmanship *into its reservoirs*, passeth not the barriers wherewith it is surrounded;

but even as He ordered it, so it doeth. For He said, *So far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee.* The ocean which is impassable for men, and the worlds beyond it, are directed by the same ordinances of the Master. The seasons of spring and summer and autumn and winter give way in succession one to another in peace. The winds in their several quarters at their proper season fulfil their ministry without disturbance; and the ever-flowing fountains, created for enjoyment and health, without fail give their breasts which sustain the life for men. Yea, the smallest of living things come together in concord and peace. All these things the great Creator and Master of the universe ordered to be in peace and concord, doing good unto all things, but far beyond the rest unto us who have taken refuge in His compassionate mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

21. Look ye, brethren, lest His benefits, which are many, turn unto judgment to all of us, if we walk not worthily of Him, and do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight with concord. For He saith in a certain place, *The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp searching the closets of the belly.* Let us see how near He is, and how that nothing escapeth Him of our thoughts or our devices which we make. It is right, therefore, that we should not be deserters from His will. Let

us rather give offence to foolish and senseless men who exalt themselves and boast in the arrogance of their words, than to God. Let us fear the Lord Jesus [Christ], whose blood was given for us. Let us reverence our rulers; let us honour our elders; let us instruct our young men in the lesson of the fear of God. Let us guide our women towards that which is good: let them show forth their lovely disposition of purity; let them prove their sincere affection of gentleness; let them make manifest the moderation of their tongue through their silence; let them show their love, not in factious preferences but without partiality towards all them that fear God, in holiness. Let our children be partakers of the instruction which is in Christ: let them learn how lowliness of mind prevaieth with God, what power chaste love hath with God, how the fear of Him is good and great and saveth all them that walk therein in a pure mind with holiness. For He is the searcher out of the intents and desires; whose breath is in us, and when He listeth, He shall take it away.

22. Now all these things the faith which is in Christ confirmeth: for He Himself through the Holy Spirit thus inviteth us: *Come, my children, hearken unto Me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life and loveth to see good days? Make thy tongue to cease from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. Turn aside from evil and do*

good. *Seek peace and ensue it. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and His ears are turned to their prayers. But the face of the Lord is upon them that do evil, to destroy their memorial from the earth. The righteous cried out, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him from all his troubles. Many are the troubles of the righteous, and the Lord shall deliver him from them all. And again: Many are the stripes of the sinner, but them that set their hope on the Lord, mercy shall compass about.*

23. The Father, who is pitiful in all things, and ready to do good, hath compassion on them that fear Him, and kindly and lovingly bestoweth His favours on them that draw nigh unto Him with a single mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, neither let our soul indulge in idle humours respecting His exceeding and glorious gifts. Let this scripture be far from us where He saith: *Wretched are the double-minded, which doubt in their soul and say, These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things hath befallen us. Ye fools, compare yourselves unto a tree; take a vine. First it sheddeth its leaves, then a shoot cometh, then a leaf, then a flower, and after these a sour berry, then a full ripe grape. Ye see that in a little time the fruit of the tree attaineth unto mellowness. Of a truth quickly and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, the scripture also bearing witness to it, saying: He shall come*

quickly and shall not tarry ; and the Lord shall come suddenly into His temple, even the Holy One, whom ye expect.

24. Let us understand, dearly beloved, how the Master continually showeth unto us the resurrection that shall be hereafter ; whereof He made the Lord Jesus Christ the firstfruit, when He raised Him from the dead. Let us behold, dearly beloved, the resurrection which happeneth at its proper season. Day and night show unto us the resurrection. The night falleth asleep, and day ariseth ; the day departeth, and night cometh on. Let us mark the fruits, how and in what manner the sowing taketh place. *The sower goeth forth* and casteth into the earth each of the seeds ; and these falling into the earth dry and bare decay : then out of their decay the mightiness of the Master's providence raiseth them up, and from being one they increase manifold and bear fruit.

25. Let us consider the marvellous sign which is seen in the regions of the East, that is, in the parts about Arabia. There is a bird, which is named the phoenix. This, being the only one of its kind, liveth for five hundred years ; and when it hath now reached the time of its dissolution that it should die, it maketh for itself a coffin of frankincense and myrrh and the other spices, into the which in the fullness of time it entereth, and so it dieth. But, as the flesh rotteth, a certain worm is engendered, which is nurtured from the

moisture of the dead creature and putteth forth wings. Then, when it is grown lusty, it taketh up that coffin where are the bones of its parent, and carrying them journeyeth from the country of Arabia even unto Egypt, to the place called the City of the Sun; and in the day-time in the sight of all, flying to the altar of the Sun, it layeth them thereupon; and this done, it setteth forth to return. So the priests examine the registers of the times, and they find that it hath come when the five hundredth year is completed.

26. Do we then think it to be a great and marvellous thing, if the Creator of the universe shall bring about the resurrection of them that have served Him with holiness in the assurance of a good faith, seeing that He showeth to us even by a bird the magnificence of His promise? For He saith in a certain place : *And Thou shalt raise me up, and I will praise Thee ; and : I went to rest and slept, I was awaked, for Thou art with me.* And again Job saith : *And Thou shalt raise this my flesh which hath endured all these things.*

27. With this hope, therefore, let our souls be bound unto Him that is faithful in His promises and that is righteous in His judgments. He that commanded not to lie, much more shall He Himself not lie : for nothing is impossible with God save to lie. Therefore let our faith in Him be kindled within us, and let us understand that all things are nigh unto Him. By a word of His majesty He com-

pacted the universe; and by a word He can destroy it. *Who shall say unto Him, What hast thou done? or who shall resist the might of His strength?* When He listeth, and as He listeth, He will do all things; and nothing shall pass away of those things that He hath decreed. All things are in His sight, and nothing escapeth His counsel, seeing that *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaimeth His handiwork. Day uttereth word unto day, and night proclaimeth knowledge unto night; and there are neither words nor speeches, whose voices are not heard.*

28. Since, therefore, all things are seen and heard, let us fear Him and forsake the abominable lusts of evil works, that we may be shielded by His mercy from the coming judgments. For where can any of us escape from His strong hand? And what world will receive any of them that desert from His service? For the holy writing saith in a certain place: *Where shall I go, and where shall I be hidden from Thy face? If I ascend into the heaven, Thou art there; if I depart into the farthest parts of the earth, there is Thy right hand; if I make my bed in the depths, there is Thy Spirit.* Whither then shall one depart, or where shall one flee, from Him that embraceth the universe?

29. Let us therefore approach Him in holiness of soul, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, with love towards our gentle and compassionate Father who made us an

elect portion unto Himself. For thus it is written: *When the Most High divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the measurement of His inheritance. And in another place He saith: Behold, the Lord taketh for Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the firstfruits of his threshing floor; and the holy of holies shall come forth from that nation.*

30. Seeing then that we are the special portion of a Holy God, let us do all things that pertain unto holiness, forsaking evil-speakings, abominable and impure embraces, drunkennesses and tumults and hateful lusts, abominable adultery, hateful pride; *For God, He saith, resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly.* Let us therefore cleave unto those to whom grace is given from God. Let us clothe ourselves in concord, being lowly-minded and temperate, holding ourselves aloof from all backbiting and evil speaking, being justified by works and not by words. For He saith: *He that saith much shall hear also again. Doth the ready talker think to be righteous? Blessed is the offspring of a woman that liveth but a short time. Be not thou abundant in words.* Let our praise be with God, and not of ourselves: for God hateth them that praise themselves. Let the testimony to our well-doing be given by others, as it was given unto

our fathers who were righteous. Boldness and arrogance and daring are for them that are accursed of God; but forbearance and humility and gentleness are with them that are blessed of God.

31. Let us therefore cleave unto His blessing, and let us see what are the ways of blessing. Let us study the records of the things that have happened from the beginning. Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith? Isaac with confidence, as knowing the future, was led a willing sacrifice. Jacob with humility departed from his land because of his brother, and went unto Laban and served; and the twelve tribes of Israel were given unto him.

32. If any man will consider them one by one in sincerity, he shall understand the magnificence of the gifts that are given by Him. For of Jacob are all the priests and Levites who minister unto the altar of God; of him is the Lord Jesus as concerning the flesh; of him are kings and rulers and governors in the line of Judah; yea and the rest of his tribes are held in no small honour, seeing that God promised saying, *Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven*. They all, therefore, were glorified and magnified, not through themselves or their own works or the righteous doing which they wrought, but through His will. And so we, having been called through His will in Christ Jesus, are

not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works which we wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified all men that have been from the beginning; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

33. What then must we do, brethren? Must we idly abstain from doing good, and forsake love? May the Master never allow this to befall us at least; but let us hasten with instancy and zeal to accomplish every good work. For the Creator and Master of the universe Himself rejoiceth in His works. For by His exceeding great might He established the heavens, and in His incomprehensible wisdom He set them in order. And the earth He separated from the water that surroundeth it, and He set it firm on the sure foundation of His own will; and the living creatures which walk upon it He commanded to exist by His ordinance. Having before created the sea and the living creatures therein, He enclosed it by His own power. Above all, as the most excellent and exceeding great work of His intelligence, with His sacred and faultless hands He formed man in the impress of His own image. For thus saith God: *Let us make man after our image and after our likeness. And God made man; male and female made He them.* So having finished all these things, He praised them and blessed them and said *Increase and multiply.* We

have seen that all the righteous were adorned in good works. Yea, and the Lord Himself having adorned Himself with works rejoiced. Seeing then that we have this pattern, let us conform ourselves with all diligence to His will; let us with all our strength work the work of righteousness.

34. The good workman receiveth the bread of his work with boldness, but the slothful and careless dareth not look his employer in the face. It is therefore needful that we should be zealous unto well-doing, for of Him are all things: since He forewarneth us saying, *Behold, the Lord, and His reward is before His face, to recompense each man according to his work.* He exhorteth us, therefore, to believe on Him with our whole heart, and to be not idle nor careless unto every good work. Let our boast and our confidence be in Him: let us submit ourselves to His will; let us mark the whole host of His angels, how they stand by and minister unto His will. For the scripture saith: *Ten thousands of ten thousands stood by Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him: and they cried aloud, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth; all creation is full of His glory.* Yea, and let us ourselves then, being gathered together in concord with intentness of heart, cry unto Him as from one mouth earnestly that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. For He saith, *Eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and it hath*

not entered into the heart of man what great things He hath prepared for them that patiently await Him.

35. How blessed and marvellous are the gifts of God, dearly beloved! Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, temperance in sanctification! And all these things fall under our apprehension. What then, think ye, are the things preparing for them that patiently await Him? The Creator and Father of the ages, the All-holy One Himself knoweth their number and their beauty. Let us therefore contend, that we may be found in the number of those that patiently await Him, to the end that we may be partakers of His promised gifts. But how shall this be, dearly beloved? If our mind be fixed through faith towards God; if we seek out those things which are well pleasing and acceptable unto Him; if we accomplish such things as beseeem His faultless will, and follow the way of truth, casting off from ourselves all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, strifes, malignities and deceits, whisperings and backbitings, hatred of God, pride and arrogance, vainglory and inhospitality. For they that do these things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but they also that consent unto them. For the scripture saith: *But unto the sinner said God, Wherefore dost thou declare Mine ordinances, and takest My covenant upon thy lips? Yet thou didst hate instruction and*

didst cast away My words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief, thou didst keep company with him, and with the adulterers thou didst set thy portion. Thy mouth multiplied wickedness, and thy tongue wove deceit. Thou satest and spakest against thy brother, and against the son of thy mother thou didst lay a stumbling-block. These things thou hast done, and I kept silence. Thou thoughtest, unrighteous man, that I should be like unto thee. I will convict thee and will set thee face to face with thyself. Now understand ye these things, ye that forget God, lest at any time He seize you as a lion, and there be none to deliver. The sacrifice of praise shall glorify Me, and there is the way wherein I will show him the salvation of God.

36. This is the way, dearly-beloved, wherein we found our salvation, even Jesus Christ the High-priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness. Through Him let us look steadfastly unto the heights of the heavens; through Him we behold as in a mirror His faultless and most excellent visage; through Him the eyes of our hearts were opened; through Him our foolish and darkened mind springeth up unto the light; through Him the Master willed that we should taste of the immortal knowledge; *Who being the brightness of His majesty is so much greater than angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name.* For so it is written: *Who maketh His angels spirits and His ministers a flame of fire;* but of His Son the Master said

thus : *Thou art My Son, I this day have begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession.* And again He saith unto Him : *Sit Thou on My right hand, until I make Thine enemies a footstool for Thy feet.* Who then are these enemies? They that are wicked and resist His will.

37. Let us therefore enlist ourselves, brethren, with all earnestness in His faultless ordinances. Let us mark the soldiers that are enlisted under our rulers, how exactly, how readily, how submissively, they execute the orders given them. All are not prefects, nor rulers of thousands, nor rulers of hundreds, nor rulers of fifties, and so forth; but each man in his own rank executeth the orders given by the king and the governors. The great without the small cannot exist, neither the small without the great. There is a certain mixture in all things, and therein is utility. Let us take our body as an example. The head without the feet is nothing; so likewise the feet without the head are nothing: even the smallest limbs of our body are necessary and useful for the whole body: but all the members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved.

38. So in our case let the whole body be saved in Christ Jesus, and let each man be subject unto his neighbour, according as also he was appointed with his special grace. Let

not the strong neglect the weak; and let the weak respect the strong. Let the rich minister aid to the poor; and let the poor give thanks to God, because He hath given him one through whom his wants may be supplied. Let the wise display his wisdom, not in words, but in good works. He that is lowly in mind, let him not bear testimony to himself, but leave testimony to be borne to him by his neighbour. He that is pure in the flesh, let him be so, and not boast, knowing that it is Another who bestoweth his continence upon him. Let us consider, brethren, of what matter we were made; who and what manner of beings we were, when we came into the world; from what a sepulchre and what darkness He that moulded and created us brought us into His world, having prepared His benefits aforehand ere ever we were born. Seeing, therefore, that we have all these things from Him, we ought in all things to give thanks to Him, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

39. Senseless and stupid and foolish and ignorant men jeer and mock at us, desiring that they themselves should be exalted in their imaginations. For what power hath a mortal? or what strength hath a child of earth? For it is written: *There was no form before mine eyes; only I heard a breath and a voice. What then? Shall a mortal be clean in the sight of the Lord; or shall a man be unblameable for his works? seeing that He is*

distrustful against His servants and noteth some perversity against His angels. Nay, the heaven is not clean in His sight. Away then, ye that dwell in houses of clay, whereof, even of the same clay, we ourselves are made. He smote them like a moth, and from morn to even they are no more. Because they could not succour themselves, they perished. He breathed upon them and they died, because they had no wisdom. But call thou, if perchance one shall obey thee, or if thou shalt see one of the holy angels. For wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth him that is gone astray. And I have seen fools throwing out roots, but forthwith their habitation was eaten up. Far be their sons from safety. May they be mocked at the gates of inferiors, and there shall be none to deliver them. For the things which are prepared for them, the righteous shall eat ; but they themselves shall not be delivered from evils.

40. Forasmuch then as these things are manifest beforehand, and we have searched into the depths of the Divine knowledge, we ought to do all things in order, as many as the Master hath commanded us to perform at their appointed seasons. Now the offerings and ministrations He commanded to be performed with care, and not to be done rashly or in disorder, but at fixed times and seasons. And where and by whom He would have them performed, He Himself fixed by His supreme will : that all things being done with piety according to His good pleasure might be

acceptable to His will. They, therefore, that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances.

41. Let each of you, brethren, in his own order give thanks unto God, maintaining a good conscience and not transgressing the appointed rule of his service, but acting with all seemliness. Not in every place, brethren, are the continual daily sacrifices offered, or the freewill offerings, or the sin offerings and the trespass offerings, but in Jerusalem alone. And even there the offering is not made in every place, but before the sanctuary in the court of the altar; and this too through the high-priest and the aforesaid ministers, after that the victim to be offered hath been inspected for blemishes. They, therefore, who do anything contrary to the seemly ordinance of His will receive death as the penalty. Ye see, brethren, in proportion as greater knowledge hath been vouchsafed unto us, so much the more are we exposed to danger.

42. The Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ.

Both, therefore, came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having, therefore, received a charge, and having been fully assured through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and confirmed in the word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God should come. So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their firstfruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion ; for indeed it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times ; for thus saith the scripture in a certain place : *I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.*

43. And what marvel, if they which were entrusted in Christ with such a work by God appointed the aforesaid persons ? seeing that even the blessed Moses who was a *faithful servant in all His house* recorded for a sign in the sacred books all things that were enjoined upon him. And him also the rest of the prophets followed, bearing witness with him unto the laws that were ordained by him. For he, when jealousy arose concerning the priesthood, and there was dissension among the tribes which of them was adorned with the glorious name, commanded the twelve chiefs of the tribes to bring to him rods inscribed with the name of each tribe. And he took them and tied them and sealed them

with the signet rings of the chiefs of the tribes, and put them away in the tabernacle of the testimony on the table of God. And having shut the tabernacle he sealed the keys and likewise also the doors. And he said unto them, Brethren, the tribe whose rod shall bud, this hath God chosen to be priests and ministers unto Him. Now when morning came, he called together all Israel, even the six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the chiefs of the tribes and opened the tabernacle of the testimony and drew forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only with buds, but also bearing fruit. What think ye, dearly beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would come to pass? Assuredly he knew it. But that disorder might not arise in Israel, he did thus, to the end that the Name of the true and only God might be glorified : to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

44. And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those, therefore, who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to

the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe : for they have no fear lest anyone should remove them from their appointed place. For we see that ye have displaced certain persons, though they were living honourably, from the ministration which [†]had been respected by them[†] blamelessly.

45. Be ye contentious, brethren, and jealous about the things that pertain unto salvation. Ye have searched the scriptures, which are true, which were given through the Holy Ghost : and ye know that nothing unrighteous or counterfeit is written in them. Ye will not find that righteous persons have been thrust out by holy men. Righteous men were persecuted, but it was by the lawless ; they were imprisoned, but it was by the unholy. They were stoned by transgressors : they were slain by those who had conceived a detestable and unrighteous jealousy. Suffering these things, they endured nobly. For what must we say, brethren ? Was Daniel cast into the lions' den by them that feared God ? Or were Ananias and Azarias and

Misael shut up in the furnace of fire by them that professed the excellent and glorious worship of the Most High? Far be this from our thoughts. Who then were they that did these things? Abominable men and full of all wickedness were stirred up to such a pitch of wrath, as to bring cruel suffering upon them that served God in a holy and blameless purpose, not knowing that the Most High is the champion and protector of them that in a pure conscience serve His excellent Name : unto whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they that endured patiently in confidence inherited glory and honour ; they were exalted, and had their names recorded by God in their memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

46. To such examples as these, therefore, brethren, we also ought to cleave. For it is written : *Cleave unto the saints, for they that cleave unto them shall be sanctified.* And again He saith in another place : *With the guiltless man thou shalt be guiltless, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the crooked thou shalt deal crookedly.* Let us therefore cleave to the guiltless and righteous : and these are the elect of God. Wherefore are there strifes and wraths and factions and divisions and war among you? Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ? Wherefore do we tear and rend asunder the members of Christ, and stir up

factions against our own body, and reach such a pitch of folly as to forget that we are members one of another? Remember the words of Jesus our Lord: for He said, *Woe unto that man; it were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of Mine elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about him, and he cast into the sea, than that he should pervert one of Mine elect.* Your division hath perverted many; it hath brought many to despair, many to doubting, and all of us to sorrow. And your sedition still continueth.

47. Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties. Yet that making of parties brought less sin upon you; for ye were partisans of Apostles that were highly reputed, and of a man approved in their sight. But now mark ye, who they are that have perverted you and diminished the glory of your renowned love for the brotherhood. It is shameful, dearly beloved, yes, utterly shameful and unworthy of your conduct in Christ, that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons, maketh sedition against its presbyters. And this report hath reached not only us, but them also which differ from us, so that ye

even heap blasphemies on the Name of the Lord by reason of your folly, and moreover create peril for yourselves.

48. Let us therefore root this out quickly, and let us fall down before the Master and entreat Him with tears, that He may show Himself propitious and be reconciled unto us, and may restore us to the seemly and pure conduct which belongeth to our love of the brethren. For this is a gate of righteousness opened unto life, as it is written : *Open me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter in thereby and praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord ; the righteous shall enter in thereby.* Seeing then that many gates are opened, this is that gate which is in righteousness, even that which is in Christ, whereby all are blessed that have entered in and direct their path in holiness and righteousness, performing all things without confusion. Let a man be faithful, let him be able to expound a deep saying, let him be wise in the discernment of words, let him be strenuous in deeds, let him be pure ; for so much the more ought he to be lowly in mind, in proportion as he seemeth to be the greater ; and he ought to seek the common advantage of all, and not his own.

49. Let him that hath love in Christ fulfil the commandments of Christ. Who can declare the bond of the love of God ? Who is sufficient to tell the majesty of its beauty ? The height, whereunto love exalteth, is unspeakable. Love joineth us unto God ; *love*

covereth a multitude of sins ; love endureth all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing coarse, nothing arrogant in love. Love hath no divisions, love maketh no seditions, love doeth all things in concord. In love were all the elect of God made perfect ; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God : in love the Master took us unto Himself ; for the love which He had towards us, Jesus Christ our Lord hath given His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh and His life for our lives.

50. Ye see, dearly beloved, how great and marvellous a thing is love, and there is no declaring its perfection. Who is sufficient to be found therein, save those to whom God shall vouchsafe it? Let us therefore entreat and ask of His mercy, that we may be found blameless in love, standing apart from the factiousness of men. All the generations from Adam unto this day have passed away : but they that by God's grace were perfected in love dwell in the abode of the pious ; and they shall be made manifest in the visitation of the Kingdom of God. For it is written : *Enter into the closet for a very little while, until Mine anger and My wrath shall pass away, and I will remember a good day and will raise you from your tombs.* Blessed were we, dearly beloved, if we should be doing the commandments of God in concord of love, to the end that our sins may through love be forgiven us. For it is written : *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are*

covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord shall impute no sin, neither is guile in his mouth. This declaration of blessedness was pronounced upon them that have been elected by God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

51. For all our transgressions which we have committed through any of the wiles of the adversary, let us entreat that we may obtain forgiveness. Yea and they also, who set themselves up as leaders of faction and division, ought to look to the common ground of hope. For such as walk in fear and love desire that they themselves should fall into suffering rather than their neighbours; and they pronounce condemnation against themselves rather than against the harmony which hath been handed down to us nobly and righteously. For it is good for a man to make confession of his trespasses rather than to harden his heart, as the heart of those was hardened who made sedition against Moses the servant of God; whose condemnation was clearly manifest, for they went down to Hades alive, and *Death shall be their shepherd.* Pharaoh and his host and all the rulers of Egypt, *their chariots and their horsemen,* were overwhelmed in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished for none other reason but because their foolish hearts were hardened after that the signs and the wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by the hand of Moses the servant of God.

52. The Master, brethren, hath need of nothing at all. He desireth not anything of any man, save to confess unto Him. For the elect David saith : *I will confess unto the Lord, and it shall please Him more than a young calf that groweth horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and rejoice.* And again He saith : *Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High : and call upon Me in the day of thine affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me. For a sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit.*

53. For ye know, and know well, the sacred scriptures, dearly beloved, and ye have searched into the oracles of God. We write these things, therefore, to put you in remembrance. When Moses went up into the mountain and had spent forty days and forty nights in fasting and humiliation, God said unto him : *Moses, Moses, come down quickly hence, for My people whom thou leddest forth from the land of Egypt have wrought iniquity : they have transgressed quickly out of the way which thou didst command unto them : they have made for themselves molten images. And the Lord said unto him, I have spoken unto thee once and twice, saying, I have seen this people, and behold it is stiff-necked. Let Me destroy them utterly, and I will blot out their name from under heaven, and I will make of thee a nation great and wonderful and numerous more than this.* And Moses said : *Nay, not so, Lord. Forgive this people their sin, or blot me also*

out of the book of the living. O mighty love ! O unsurpassable perfection ! The servant is bold with his Master ; he asketh forgiveness for the multitude, or he demandeth that himself also be blotted out with them.

54. Who, therefore, is noble among you ? Who is compassionate ? Who is fulfilled with love ? Let him say, If by reason of me there be faction and strife and divisions, I retire, I depart, whither ye will, and I do that which is ordered by the people : only let the flock of Christ be at peace with its duly appointed presbyters. He that shall have done this, shall win for himself great renown in Christ, and every place will receive him : for *the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.* Thus have they done and will do, that live as citizens of that kingdom of God which bringeth no regrets.

55. But, to bring forward examples of Gentiles also ; many kings and rulers, when some season of pestilence pressed upon them, being taught by oracles have delivered themselves over to death, that they might rescue their fellow-citizens through their own blood. Many have retired from their own cities, that they might have no more seditions. We know that many among ourselves have delivered themselves to bondage, that they might ransom others. Many have sold themselves to slavery, and receiving the price paid for themselves have fed others. Many women being strengthened through the grace of God

have performed many manly deeds. The blessed Judith, when the city was beleaguered, asked of the elders that she might be suffered to go forth into the camp of the aliens. So she exposed herself to peril and went forth for love of her country and of her people which were beleaguered; and the Lord delivered Holophernes into the hand of a woman. To no less peril did Esther also, who was perfect in faith, expose herself, that she might deliver the twelve tribes of Israel, when they were on the point to perish. For through her fasting and her humiliation she entreated the all-seeing Master, the God of the ages; and He, seeing the humility of her soul, delivered the people for whose sake she encountered the peril.

56. Therefore let us also make intercession for them that are in any transgression, that forbearance and humility may be given them, to the end that they may yield not unto us, but unto the will of God. For so shall the compassionate remembrance of them with God and the saints be fruitful unto them, and perfect. Let us accept chastisement, whereat no man ought to be vexed, dearly beloved. The admonition which we give one to another is good and exceeding useful; for it joineth us unto the will of God. For thus said the holy word: *The Lord hath indeed chastened me, and hath not delivered me over unto death. For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth. For*

the righteous, it is said, shall chasten me in mercy and shall reprove me, but let not the †mercy† of sinners anoint my head. And again He saith : Blessed is the man whom the Lord hath reprovèd, and refuse not thou the admonition of the Almighty. For He causeth pain, and He restoreth again : He hath smitten, and His hands have healed. Six times shall He rescue thee from afflictions : and at the seventh no evil shall touch thee. In famine He shall deliver thee from death, and in war He shall release thee from the arm of the sword. And from the scourge of the tongue shall He hide thee, and thou shalt not be afraid when evils approach. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and wicked, and of the wild beasts thou shalt not be afraid. For wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. Then shalt thou know that thy house shall be at peace : and the abode of thy tabernacle shall not go wrong, and thou shalt know that thy seed is many, and thy children as the plenteous herbage of the field. And thou shalt come to the grave as ripe corn reaped in due season, or as the heap of the threshing floor gathered together at the right time. Ye see, dearly beloved, how great protection there is for them that are chastened by the Master : for being a kind father He chasteneth us to the end that we may obtain mercy through His holy chastisement.

57. Ye, therefore, that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters and receive chastisement unto

repentance, bending the knees of your heart. Learn to submit yourselves, laying aside the arrogant and proud stubbornness of your tongue. For it is better for you to be found little in the flock of Christ and to have your name on God's roll, than to be had in exceeding honour and yet be cast out from the hope of Him. For thus saith the All-virtuous Wisdom: *Behold, I will pour out for you a saying of My breath, and I will teach you My word. Because I called and ye obeyed not, and I held out words and ye heeded not, but made My counsels of none effect, and were disobedient unto My reproofs; therefore I also will laugh at your destruction, and will rejoice over you when ruin cometh upon you, and when confusion overtaketh you suddenly, and your overthrow is at hand like a whirlwind, or when anguish and beleaguerment come upon you. For it shall be, when ye call upon Me, yet will I not hear you. Evil men shall seek Me and shall not find Me: for they hated wisdom, and chose not the fear of the Lord, neither would they give heed unto My counsels, but mocked at My reproofs. Therefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and shall be filled with their own ungodliness. For because they wronged babes, they shall be slain, and inquisition shall destroy the ungodly. But he that heareth Me shall dwell safely trusting in hope, and shall be quiet from fear of all evil.*

58. Let us therefore be obedient unto His most holy and glorious Name, thereby escap-

ing the threatenings which were spoken of old by the mouth of Wisdom against them which disobey, that we may dwell safely, trusting in the most holy Name of His majesty. Receive our counsel, and ye shall have no occasion of regret. For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect, so surely shall he, who with lowliness of mind and instant in gentleness hath without regretfulness performed the ordinances and commandments that are given by God, be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory unto Him for ever and ever. Amen.

59. But if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger; but we shall be guiltless of this sin. And we will ask, with instancy of prayer and supplication, that the Creator of the universe may guard intact unto the end the number that hath been numbered of His elect throughout the whole world, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom He called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of His Name.

[Grant unto us, Lord,] that we may set our hope on Thy Name which is the primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our hearts,

that we may know Thee, who alone *abidest Highest in the lofty, Holy in the holy* ; who *layest low the insolence of the proud*, who *scatterest the imaginings of nations* ; who *settest the lowly on high*, and *bringest the lofty low* ; who *makest rich and makest poor* ; who *killest and makest alive* ; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh ; who *lookest into the abysses*, who *scannest the works of man* ; the Succour of them that are in peril, the *Saviour of them that are in despair* ; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit ; who multiplieth the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honour us. We beseech Thee, Lord and Master, to be *our help and succour*. Save those among us who are in tribulation ; have mercy on the lowly ; lift up the fallen ; show Thyself unto the needy ; heal the ungodly ; convert the wanderers of Thy people ; feed the hungry ; release our prisoners ; raise up the weak ; comfort the faint-hearted. *Let all the Gentiles know that Thou art God alone*, and Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and *we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture*.

60. Thou through Thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in Thy judgments, marvellous

in strength and excellence, Thou that art wise in creating and prudent in establishing that which Thou hast made, that art good in the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on Thee, *pitiful and compassionate*, forgive us our iniquities and our unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to our account every sin of Thy servants and Thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of Thy truth, and *guide our steps to walk in holiness and righteousness and singleness of heart and to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in Thy sight* and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, *make Thy face to shine upon us* in peace for our good, that we may be sheltered by *Thy mighty hand* and delivered from every sin by *Thine uplifted arm*. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers, *when they called on Thee in faith and truth* with holiness, [that we may be saved,] while we render obedience to Thine almighty and most excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

61. Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty through Thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we knowing the glory and honour which Thou hast given them may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting Thy will. Grant unto them, therefore, O Lord, health, peace,

concord, stability, that they may administer the government which Thou hast given them without failure. For Thou, O heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honour and power over all things that are upon the earth. Do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which Thou hast given them, they may obtain Thy favour. O Thou, who alone art able to do these things and things far more exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee through the High-priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the majesty unto Thee both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen.

62. As touching those things which befit our religion and are most useful for a virtuous life to such as would guide [their steps] in holiness and righteousness, we have written fully unto you, brethren. For concerning faith and repentance and genuine love and temperance and sobriety and patience we have handled every argument, putting you in remembrance, that ye ought to please Almighty God in righteousness and truth and long-suffering with holiness, laying aside malice and pursuing concord in love and peace, being instant in gentleness; even as our fathers, of whom we spake before, pleased Him, being lowly-minded towards their

Father and God and Creator and towards all men. And we have put you in mind of these things the more gladly, since we knew well that we were writing to men who are faithful and highly accounted and have diligently searched into the oracles of the teaching of God.

63. Therefore it is right for us to give heed to so great and so many examples and to submit the neck and occupying the place of obedience to take our side with them that are the leaders of our souls, that ceasing from this foolish dissension we may attain unto the goal which lieth before us in truthfulness, keeping aloof from every fault. For ye will give us great joy and gladness, if ye render obedience unto the things written by us through the Holy Spirit, and root out the unrighteous anger of your jealousy, according to the entreaty which we have made for peace and concord in this letter. And we have also sent faithful and prudent men that have walked among us from youth unto old age unblameably, who shall also be witnesses between you and us. And this we have done that ye might know that we have had, and still have, every solicitude that ye should be speedily at peace.

64. Finally, may the All-seeing God and Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ, and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that is called after His excellent and holy

Name faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, chastity and soberness, that they may be well-pleasing unto His Name through our High-priest and Guardian Jesus Christ, though whom unto Him be glory and majesty, might and honour, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.

65. Now send ye back speedily unto us our messengers Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together with Fortunatus also, in peace and with joy, to the end that they may the more quickly report the peace and concord which is prayed for and earnestly desired by us, that we also may the more speedily rejoice over your good order.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in all places who have been called by God and through Him, through whom be glory and honour, power and greatness and eternal dominion, unto Him, from the ages past and for ever and ever. Amen.

THE SO-CALLED SECOND EPISTLE OF
S. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

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THE so-called Second Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians follows immediately upon the first in all the three MS. authorities, and is apparently ascribed to S. Clement by them. It has, however, no claim to this designation; for, although it was known to the Fathers of the fourth century and later, it is not quoted by early writers as being the work of S. Clement, and the internal evidence both of style and doctrine, so far as it goes, is distinctly against this conclusion. There are some indications (§ 7) that it was indeed written or spoken in the first instance to the Corinthians, but its language and character point to its being a homily rather than a letter. This view has been confirmed by the recent discovery of the latter half of the Epistle. The speaker addresses his hearers more than once towards the close as "Brothers and sisters" (§§ 19, 20). Elsewhere he appeals to them in language which is quite explicit on the point at issue. "Let us not think," he says, "to give heed and believe now only, while we are being admonished by the presbyters; but likewise when we have departed home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, etc." (§ 17). We may therefore now definitely regard it as the earliest Christian homily extant. As a literary production it has no value, but it is at least interesting for the high moral tone and unswerving faith which it displays throughout. Its date may with some confidence be assigned to the first half of the second century, probably c. A.D. 120-140.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

THE SO-CALLED SECOND EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

I. BRETHREN, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ, as of God, as of the Judge of quick and dead. And we ought not to think mean things of our Salvation: for when we think mean things of Him, we expect also to receive mean things. And they that listen as concerning mean things do wrong; and we ourselves do wrong, not knowing whence and by whom and unto what place we were called, and how many things Jesus Christ endured to suffer for our sakes. What recompense then shall we give unto Him? or what fruit worthy of His own gift to us? And how many mercies do we owe to Him! For He bestowed the light upon us; He spake to us, as a father to his sons; He saved us, when we were perishing. What praise then shall we give to Him? or what payment of recompense for those things which we received? we who were blinded in our understanding, and worshipped stocks and stones and gold and silver and bronze, the works of men; and our whole life was nothing else but death. While then we were thus wrapped in darkness and oppressed with this thick mist in our

vision, we recovered our sight, putting off by His will the cloud wherein we were wrapped. For He had mercy on us, and in His compassion saved us, having beheld in us much error and perdition, even when we had no hope of salvation, save that which came from Him. For He called us, when we were not, and from not being He willed us to be.

2. *Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not. Break out and cry, thou that travailest not; for more are the children of the desolate than of her that hath the husband.* In that He said, *Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not*, He spake of us: for our Church was barren, before that children were given unto her. And in that He said, *Cry aloud, thou that travailest not*, He meaneth this: Let us not, like women in travail, grow weary of offering up our prayers with simplicity to God. Again, in that He said, *For the children of the desolate are more than of her that hath the husband*, He so spake, because our people seemed desolate and forsaken of God, whereas now, having believed, we have become more than those who seemed to have God. Again another scripture saith, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners*. He meaneth this; that it is right to save them that are perishing. For this indeed is a great and marvellous work, to establish, not those things which stand, but those which are falling. So also Christ willed to save the things which were perishing. And He saved many, coming

and calling us when we were even now perishing.

3. Seeing then that He bestowed so great mercy on us; first of all, that we, who are living, do not sacrifice to these dead gods, neither worship them, but through Him have known the Father of truth. What else is this knowledge to Himward, but not to deny Him through whom we have known Him? Yea, He Himself saith, *Whoso confesseth Me, Him will I confess before the Father.* This then is our reward, if verily we shall confess Him through whom we were saved. But wherein do we confess Him? When we do that which He saith and are not disobedient unto His commandments, and not only *honour Him with our lips*, but *with our whole heart and with our whole mind.* Now He saith also in Isaiah, *This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me.*

4. Let us therefore not only call Him Lord, for this will not save us: for He saith, *Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness.* So then, brethren, let us confess Him in our works, by loving one another, by not committing adultery nor speaking evil one against another nor envying, but being temperate, merciful, kindly. And we ought to have fellow-feeling one with another and not to be covetous. By these works let us confess Him, and not by the contrary. And we ought not rather to fear men but God. For

this cause; if ye do these things, the Lord said, *Though ye be gathered together with Me in My bosom, and do not My commandments, I will cast you away and will say unto you, Depart from Me, I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.*

5. Wherefore, brethren, let us forsake our sojourn in this world and do the will of Him that called us, and let us not be afraid to depart out of this world. For the Lord saith, *Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.* But Peter answered and said unto Him, *What then, if the wolves should tear the lambs?* Jesus said unto Peter, *Let not the lambs fear the wolves after they are dead; and ye also, fear ye not them that kill you and are not able to do anything to you; but fear Him that after ye are dead hath power over soul and body, to cast them into the gehenna of fire.* And ye know, brethren, that the sojourn of this flesh in this world is mean and for a short time, but the promise of Christ is great and marvellous, even the rest of the kingdom that shall be and of life eternal. What then can we do to obtain them, but walk in holiness and righteousness, and consider these worldly things as alien to us, and not desire them? For when we desire to obtain these things we fall away from the righteous path.

6. But the Lord saith, *No servant can serve two masters.* If we desire to serve both God and mammon, it is unprofitable for us: *For what advantage is it, if a man gain the*

whole world and forfeit his soul? Now this age and the future are two enemies. The one speaketh of adultery and defilement and avarice and deceit, but the other biddeth farewell to these. We cannot, therefore, be friends of the two, but must bid farewell to the one and hold companionship with the other. Let us consider that it is better to hate the things which are here, because they are mean and for a short time and perishable, and to love the things which are there, for they are good and imperishable. For, if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; but if otherwise, then nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we should disobey His commandments. And the scripture also saith in Ezekiel, *Though Noah and Job and Daniel should rise up, they shall not deliver their children in the captivity.* But if even such righteous men as these cannot by their righteous deeds deliver their children, with what confidence shall we, if we keep not our baptism pure and undefiled, enter into the kingdom of God? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found having holy and righteous works?

7. So then, my brethren, let us contend, knowing that the contest is nigh at hand, and that, while many resort to the corruptible contests, yet not all are crowned, but only they that have toiled hard and contended bravely. Let us then contend that we all may be crowned. Wherefore let us run in the

straight course, the incorruptible contest. And let us resort to it in throngs and contend, that we may also be crowned. And if we cannot all be crowned, let us at least come near to the crown. We ought to know that he which contendeth in the corruptible contest, if he be found dealing corruptly with it, is first flogged, and then removed and driven out of the race-course. What think ye? What shall be done to him that hath dealt corruptly with the contest of incorruption? For as concerning them that have not kept the seal, He saith, *Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.*

8. While we are on earth then, let us repent : for we are clay under the craftsman's hand. For in like manner as the potter, if he be making a vessel, and it get twisted or crushed in his hands, reshapeth it again; but if he have once put it into the fiery oven, he shall no longer mend it : so also let us, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil things which we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet time for repentance. For after that we have departed out of the world, we can no more make confession there, or repent any more. Wherefore, brethren, if we shall have done the will of the Father and kept the flesh pure and guarded the commandments of the Lord, we shall receive life eternal. For the Lord saith in the Gospel,

If ye kept not that which is little, who shall give unto you that which is great? For I say unto you that he which is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much. So then He meaneth this: Keep the flesh pure and the seal unstained, to the end that we may receive life.

9. And let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged neither riseth again. Understand ye. In what were ye saved? In what did ye recover your sight? if ye were not in this flesh. We ought therefore to guard the flesh as a temple of God: for in like manner as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall come also in the flesh. If Christ the Lord who saved us, being first spirit, then became flesh, and so called us, in like manner also shall we in this flesh receive our reward. Let us therefore love one another, that we all may come unto the kingdom of God. While we have time to be healed, let us place ourselves in the hands of God the physician, giving Him a recompense. What recompense? Repentance from a sincere heart. For He discerneth all things beforehand and knoweth what is in our heart. Let us therefore give unto Him eternal praise, not from our lips only, but also from our heart, that He may receive us as sons. For the Lord also said, *These are My brethren, which do the will of My Father.*

10. Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father which called us, that we

may live; and let us the rather pursue virtue, but forsake vice as the forerunner of our sins, and let us flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us. For if we be diligent in doing good, peace will pursue us. For, for this cause is a man unable to †attain happiness†, seeing that they call in the fears of men, preferring rather the enjoyment which is here than the promise which is to come. For they know not how great torment the enjoyment which is here bringeth, and what delight the promise which is to come bringeth. And if verily they were doing these things by themselves alone, it had been tolerable: but now they continue teaching evil to innocent souls, not knowing that they shall have their condemnation doubled, both themselves and their hearers.

II. Let us therefore serve God in a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we serve Him not, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be wretched. For the word of prophecy also saith: *Wretched are the double-minded, that doubt in their heart and say, These things we heard of old in the days of our fathers also, yet we have waited day after day and have seen none of them. Ye fools! compare yourselves unto a tree; take a vine. First it sheddeth its leaves, then a shoot cometh, after this a sour berry, then a full ripe grape. So likewise My people had tumults and afflictions: but afterward they shall receive good things.* Wherefore, my brethren, let

us not be double-minded but endure patiently in hope, that we may also obtain our reward. *For faithful is He that promised to pay to each man the recompense of his works.* If, therefore, we shall have wrought righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into His kingdom and shall receive the promises which *ear hath not heard nor eye seen, neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*

12. Let us therefore await the kingdom of God betimes in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of God's appearing. For the Lord Himself, being asked by a certain person when His kingdom would come, said, *When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.* Now *the two* are *one*, when we speak truth among ourselves, and in two bodies there shall be one soul without dissimulation. And by *the outside as the inside* He meaneth this: by the inside He meaneth the soul and by the outside the body. Therefore in like manner as thy body appeareth, so also let thy soul be manifest in its good works. And by *the male with the female, neither male nor female*, He meaneth this; that a brother seeing a sister should have no thought of her as of a female, and that a sister seeing a brother should not have any thought of him as of a male. These things if ye do, saith He, the kingdom of my Father shall come.

13. Therefore, brethren, let us repent forth-

with. Let us be sober unto that which is good: for we are full of much folly and wickedness. Let us wipe away from us our former sins, and let us repent with our whole soul and be saved. And let us not be found men-pleasers. Neither let us desire to please one another only, but also those men that are without, by our righteousness, that the Name be not blasphemed by reason of us. For the Lord saith, *Every way My Name is blasphemed among all the Gentiles*; and again, *Woe unto him by reason of whom My Name is blasphemed*. Wherein is it blasphemed? In that ye do not the things which I desire. For the Gentiles, when they hear from our mouth the oracles of God, marvel at them for their beauty and greatness; then, when they discover that our works are not worthy of the words which we speak, forthwith they betake themselves to blasphemy, saying that it is an idle story and a delusion. For when they hear from us that God saith, *It is no thank unto you, if ye love them that love you, but this is thank unto you, if ye love your enemies and them that hate you*; when they hear these things, I say, they marvel at their exceeding goodness; but when they see that we not only do not love them that hate us, but not even them that love us, they laugh us to scorn, and the Name is blasphemed.

14. Wherefore, brethren, if we do the will of God our Father, we shall be of the first Church, which is spiritual, which was created

before the sun and moon; but if we do not the will of the Lord, we shall be of the scripture that saith, *My house was made a den of robbers*. So, therefore, let us choose rather to be of the Church of life, that we may be saved. And I do not suppose ye are ignorant that the living Church is *the body of Christ*: for the scripture saith, *God made man, male and female*. The male is Christ and the female is the Church. And the Books and the Apostles plainly declare that the Church existeth not now for the first time, but hath been from the beginning: for she was spiritual, as our Jesus also was spiritual, but was manifested in the last days that He might save us. Now the Church, being spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ, thereby showing us that, if any of us guard her in the flesh and defile her not, he shall receive her again in the Holy Spirit: for this flesh is the counterpart and copy of the spirit. No man, therefore, when he hath defiled the copy, shall receive the original for his portion. This, therefore, is what He meaneth, brethren; Guard ye the flesh, that ye may partake of the spirit. But if we say that the flesh is the Church and the spirit is Christ, then he that hath dealt wantonly with the flesh hath dealt wantonly with the Church. Such an one, therefore, shall not partake of the spirit, which is Christ. So excellent is the life and immortality which this flesh can receive as its portion, if the Holy Spirit be joined to it. No man can

declare or tell *those things which the Lord hath prepared* for His elect.

15. Now I do not think that I have given any mean counsel respecting continence, and whosoever performeth it shall not repent thereof, but shall save both himself and me his counsellor. For it is no mean reward to convert a wandering and perishing soul, that it may be saved. For this is the recompense which we are able to pay to God who created us, if he that speaketh and heareth both speak and hear with faith and love. Let us therefore abide in the things which we believed, in righteousness and holiness, that we may with boldness ask of God who saith, *Whiles thou art still speaking I will say, Behold, I am here.* For this word is the token of a great promise : for the Lord saith of Himself that He is more ready to give than he that asketh to ask. Seeing then that we are partakers of so great kindness, let us not grudge ourselves the obtaining of so many good things. For in proportion as the pleasure is great which these words bring to them that have performed them, so also is the condemnation great which they bring to them that have been disobedient.

16. Therefore, brethren, since we have found no small opportunity for repentance, seeing that we have time, let us turn again unto God that called us, while we have still One that receiveth us. For if we bid farewell to these enjoyments and conquer our soul in refusing to fulfil its evil lusts, we shall be

partakers of the mercy of Jesus. But ye know that the day of judgment cometh even now *as a burning oven, and the powers of the heavens shall melt*, and all the earth as lead melting on the fire, and then shall appear the secret and open works of men. Almsgiving, therefore, is a good thing, even as repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both. And *love covereth a multitude of sins*, but prayer out of a good conscience delivereth from death. Blessed is every man that is found full of these. For almsgiving lifteth off the burden of sin.

17. Let us therefore repent with our whole heart, lest any of us perish by the way. For if we have received commands, that we should make this also our business, to tear men away from idols and to instruct them, how much more is it wrong that a soul which knoweth God already should perish ! Therefore let us assist one another, that we may also lead the weak upward as touching that which is good, to the end that we all may be saved : and let us convert and admonish one another. And let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the presbyters ; but likewise when we have departed home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, and not suffer ourselves to be dragged off the other way by our worldly lusts ; but coming hither more frequently, let us strive to go forward in

the commands of the Lord, that we all having the same mind may be gathered together unto life. For the Lord said, *I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and languages.* Herein He speaketh of the day of His appearing, when He shall come and redeem us, each man according to his works. *And the unbelievers shall see His glory and His might:* and they shall be amazed when they see the kingdom of the world given to Jesus, saying Woe unto us, for Thou wast, and we knew it not, and believed not; and we obeyed not the presbyters when they told us of our salvation. *And Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.* He speaketh of that day of judgment, when men shall see those among us that lived ungodly lives and dealt falsely with the commandments of Jesus Christ. But the righteous, having done good and endured torments and hated the pleasures of the soul, when they shall behold them that have done amiss and denied Jesus by their words or by their deeds, how that they are punished with grievous torments in unquenchable fire, shall give glory to God, saying, There will be hope for him that hath served God with his whole heart.

18. Therefore let us also be found among those that give thanks, among those that have served God, and not among the ungodly that are judged. For I myself too, being an utter sinner and not yet escaped from tempta-

tion, but being still amidst the engines of the devil, do my diligence to follow after righteousness, that I may prevail so far at least as to come near unto it, while I fear the judgment to come.

19. Therefore, brothers and sisters, after the God of truth hath been heard, I read to you an exhortation to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written, so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth in the midst of you. For I ask of you as a reward that ye repent with your whole heart, and give salvation and life to yourselves. For doing this we shall set a goal for all the young who desire to toil in the study of piety and of the goodness of God. And let us not be displeased and vexed, fools that we are, whensoever any one admonisheth us and turneth us aside from unrighteousness unto righteousness. For sometimes while we do evil things, we perceive it not by reason of the double-mindedness and unbelief which is in our breasts, and *we are darkened in our understanding* by our vain lusts. Let us therefore practise righteousness that we may be saved unto the end. Blessed are they that obey these ordinances. Though they may endure affliction for a short time in the world, they will gather the immortal fruit of the resurrection. Therefore let not the godly be grieved, if he be miserable in the times that now are : a blessed time awaiteth him. He shall live again in heaven with the

fathers, and shall have rejoicing throughout a sorrowless eternity.

20. Neither suffer ye this again to trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessing wealth, and the servants of God straitened. Let us then have faith, brothers and sisters. We are contending in the lists of a living God; and we are trained by the present life, that we may be crowned with the future. No righteous man hath reaped fruit quickly, but waiteth for it. For if God had paid the recompense of the righteous speedily, then straightway we should have been training ourselves in merchandise, and not in godliness; for we should seem to be righteous, though we were pursuing not that which is godly, but that which is gainful. And for this cause Divine judgment overtaketh a spirit that is not just, and loadeth it with chains.

To the only God invisible, the Father of truth, who sent forth unto us the Saviour and Prince of immortality, through whom also He made manifest unto us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

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I.

THE Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas stands alone in the literature of the early Church. The writer is an uncompromising antagonist of Judaism, but beyond this antagonism he has nothing in common with the Antijudaic heresies of the second century. Unlike Marcion, he postulates no opposition between the Old Testament and the New. On the contrary he sees Christianity everywhere in the Lawgiver and the Prophets, and treats them with a degree of respect which would have satisfied the most devout rabbi. He quotes them profusely as authoritative. Only he accuses the Jews of misunderstanding them from beginning to end, and intimates that the ordinances of circumcision, of the sabbath, of the distinctions of meats clean and unclean, were never intended to be literally observed, but had throughout a spiritual and mystical significance.

Who then was the writer of this Epistle? At the close of the second century Clement of Alexandria quotes it frequently, and ascribes it to the "Apostle," or the "Prophet Barnabas," identifying the author with "Barnabas who himself also preached with the Apostle" (*i.e.* S. Paul) "in the ministry of the Gentiles." Yet elsewhere he does not hesitate to criticise the work, and clearly, therefore, did not regard it as final and authoritative. A few years later, Origen cites the Epistle with the introductory words, "It is written in the catholic (*i.e.* general) Epistle of Barnabas." The earliest notices, however, are confined to the Alexandrian fathers, and the presumption is that it was written in Alexandria itself.

It will be observed that the writer nowhere claims to be the Apostle Barnabas; indeed his language is such as

to suggest that he was wholly unconnected with the Apostles. The work, therefore, is in no sense apocryphal, if by apocryphal we mean fictitious. How the name of Barnabas came to be associated with it, it is impossible to say. An early tradition, or fiction, represents Barnabas as residing at Alexandria; but this story might have been the consequence, rather than the cause, of the name attached to the letter. Possibly its author was some unknown namesake of the "Son of Consolation."

That Alexandria, the place of its earliest reception, was also the place of its birth, is borne out by the internal evidence of style and interpretation, which is Alexandrian throughout. The picture too which it presents of feuds between Jews and Christians is in keeping with the state of the population of that city, the various elements of which were continually in conflict. But the problem of the date is a more difficult one. The Epistle was certainly written after the first destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, to which it alludes; but, had it been composed after the war under Hadrian ending in the second devastation, it could hardly have failed to refer to that event. The possible limits, therefore, are A.D. 70 and A.D. 132. But within this period of sixty years the most various dates have been assigned to it. The conclusion depends mainly on the interpretation put upon two passages which treat of quotations from the prophets. (1) The first is in § 4, where Daniel vii. 7 sq. is quoted as illustrating the great scandal or offence which, according to the writer, is at hand. The date will depend on the interpretation put upon the "three kings in one" (τρεις ἕφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλείων), or "three great horns in one" (ἕφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων) and "the little excrescence" or "offshoot horn" (μικρὸν κέρας παραφνάδιον). And here no theory yet propounded appears quite satisfactory. Weizsäcker, who dates the Epistle in Vespasian's reign (A.D. 70-79), is compelled to consider that emperor as at once one of the great horns and the little horn; Hilgenfeld, who places it under Nerva (A.D. 96-98), arbitrarily omits Julius and Vitellius from the list of Cæsars, that

he may make Domitian the tenth king; while both alike fail to recognise in Daniel's little horn a prophecy of Antichrist and therefore a persecuting emperor. Volkmar's date (A.D. 119-132), besides other serious objections, depends upon the enumeration of the three kings over and above the ten, whereas the language suggests that they were in some sense comprised within the ten. The solution, which follows, and which we are disposed to adopt provisionally, has not, we believe, been offered before. We enumerate the ten Cæsars in their natural sequence, with Weizsäcker, and arrive at Vespasian as the tenth. We regard the three Flavii as the three kings destined to be humiliated, with Hilgenfeld. We do not, however, with him contemplate them as three separate emperors, but explain the language as referring to the association with himself by Vespasian of his two sons Titus and Domitian in the exercise of supreme power. So close a connection of three in one was never seen in the history of the empire, until a date too late to enter into consideration. The significance of this association is commemorated in several types of coins, which exhibit Vespasian on the obverse and Titus and Domitian on the reverse in various attitudes and with various legends. Lastly, with Volkmar, we interpret the little horn as symbolising Antichrist, and explain it by the expectation of Nero's reappearance which we know to have been rife during the continuation of the Flavian dynasty. (2) The second passage is the interpretation in § 16 given to Isaiah xlix. 17, where it is foretold to the Jews that "those who pulled down this temple themselves shall build it up," and the interpretation goes on to say that "this is taking place (*γίνεται*). Because they went to war it was pulled down by their enemies; now also the very subjects (*ὑπηρέται*) of their enemies (the Romans) shall build it up!" This is taken by interpreters generally to refer to the material temple at Jerusalem, and they explain it of the expectations of the Jews at one epoch or another that the Romans would rebuild the temple—the epoch generally chosen being the conquest of Hadrian, at which point consequently very many place the writing of the

Epistle. This conflicts with any natural interpretation of the three horns and the little horn. But (i) no satisfactory evidence has been adduced that Hadrian had any such intention, or that the Jews had any such expectation in his time; and (ii) there is the still more formidable objection that this interpretation runs counter to the general teaching of this writer, who reproaches the Jews with their material interpretations of prophecy, and to the whole context, which is conceived in his usual vein. He explains at the outset that the Jews are wrong in setting their hope on the material building. Yet here, if this interpretation be correct, he tells them to do this very thing. Moreover, lest there should be any mistake, he assures them that there *is* a temple, but this temple of the Lord, predicted by the prophets, is a spiritual temple; for it is either the Church of Christ, or the soul of the individual believer, wherein the Lord dwells. Whether with **Σ** we read a second *καί* after *αὐτοί* or not, this spiritual interpretation must be correct; but the context suggests its omission. Thus the passage has no bearing at all on the date. For these reasons we should probably place the date of the so-called Epistle of Barnabas between A.D. 70–79; but the ultimate decision must be affected by the view which shall commend itself of the origin of those chapters, which the Epistle has in common with the Teaching of the Apostles.

2.

The authorities for the text are as follows:

(I) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

1. The famous Sinaitic MS. (**Σ**) of the fourth century, where, in company with the Shepherd of Hermas, it occurs in a complete form, following the Apocalypse, as a sort of appendix to the sacred volume.

2. The Constantinopolitan MS. (**C**) of Bryennios, an eleventh-century document; here also the Epistle is found complete.

3. The series of nine Greek MSS. (**G**), all of one family; in this collection of manuscripts the first four chapters and part of the fifth are wanting.

There is also (II) a LATIN VERSION (L) extant in a MS. of the ninth or tenth century (*Petropolitanus* Q. v. 1. 39, formerly *Corbeiensis*). This MS. omits the last four chapters, which apparently formed no part of the version in question.

Lastly, the quotations in Clement of Alexandria, comprising as they do portions of §§ 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 16, 21, and those passages in §§ 18-21 which this Epistle has in common with the *Didache* and other documents, open out additional considerations which must not be disregarded in the formation of the text.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

1. I BID you greeting, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord that loved us, in peace.

Seeing that the ordinances of God are great and rich unto you, I rejoice with an exceeding great and overflowing joy at your blessed and glorious spirits; so innate is the grace of the spiritual gift that ye have received. Wherefore also I the more congratulate myself, hoping to be saved, for that I truly see the Spirit poured out among you from the riches of the fount of the Lord. So greatly did the much-desired sight of you astonish me respecting you. Being, therefore, persuaded of this, and being conscious with myself that having said much among you I know that the Lord journeyed with me on the way of righteousness, and am wholly constrained also myself to this, to love you more than my own soul (for great faith and love dwelleth in you through the hope of the life which is His)—considering this, therefore, that, if it shall be my care to communicate to you some portion of that which I received, it shall turn to my reward for having ministered to such spirits, I was eager to send you a trifle, that along with your faith ye might have your

knowledge also perfect. Well then, there are three ordinances of the Lord; †the hope of life, which is the beginning and end of our faith; and righteousness, which is the beginning and end of judgment; love shown in gladness and exultation, the testimony of works of righteousness†. For the Lord made known to us by His prophets things past and present, giving us likewise the firstfruits of the taste of things future. And seeing each of these things severally coming to pass, according as He spake, we ought to offer a richer and higher offering to the fear of Him. But I, not as though I were a teacher, but as one of yourselves, will show forth a few things, whereby ye shall be gladdened in the present circumstances.

2. Seeing then that the days are evil, and that the Active One himself has the authority, we ought to give heed to ourselves and to seek out the ordinances of the Lord. The aids of our faith then are fear and patience, and our allies are long-suffering and self-restraint. While these abide in a pure spirit in matters relating to the Lord, wisdom, understanding, science, knowledge rejoice with them. For He hath made manifest to us by all the prophets that He wanteth neither sacrifices nor whole burnt-offerings nor oblations, saying at one time : *What to Me is the multitude of your sacrifices, saith the Lord? I am full of whole burnt-offerings, and the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and of goats I*

desire not, not though ye should come to be seen of Me. For who required these things at your hands? Ye shall continue no more to tread My court. If ye bring fine flour, it is vain; incense is an abomination to Me; your new moons and your sabbaths I cannot away with. These things, therefore, He annulled, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, being free from the yoke of constraint, might have its oblation not made by human hands. And He saith again unto them: Did I command your fathers when they went forth from the land of Egypt to bring Me whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices? Nay, this was My command unto them, Let none of you bear a grudge of evil against his neighbour in his heart, and love you not a false oath. So we ought to perceive, unless we are without understanding, the mind of the goodness of our Father; for He speaketh to us, desiring us not to go astray like them but to seek how we may approach Him. Thus then speaketh He to us: The sacrifice unto God is a broken heart, the smell of a sweet savour unto the Lord is a heart that glorifies its Maker. We ought, therefore, brethren, to learn accurately concerning our salvation, lest the Evil One having effected an entrance of error in us should fling us away from our life.

3. He speaketh again therefore to them concerning these things: *Wherefore fast ye for Me, saith the Lord, so that your voice is heard this day crying aloud? This is not the*

fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord ; not a man abasing his soul ; not though ye should bend your neck as a hoop, and put on sackcloth and make your bed of ashes, not even so shall ye call a fast that is acceptable. But unto us He saith : Behold, this is the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord ; loosen every band of wickedness, untie the tightened cords of forcible contracts, send away the broken ones released and tear in pieces every unjust bond. Break thy bread to the hungry, and if thou seest one naked, clothe him ; bring the shelterless into thy house, and if thou seest a humble man, thou shalt not despise him, neither shall any one of thy household and of thine own seed. Then shall thy light break forth in the morning, and thy healing shall arise quickly, and righteousness shall go before thy face, and the glory of God shall environ thee. Then shalt thou cry out and God shall hear thee ; while thou art still speaking, He shall say, " Lo, I am here " ; if thou shalt take away from thee the yoke and the stretching forth of the finger and the word of murmuring, and shalt give thy bread to the hungry heartily, and shalt pity the abased soul. To this end, therefore, my brethren, He that is long-suffering, foreseeing that the people whom He had prepared in His well-beloved would believe in simplicity, manifested to us beforehand concerning all things, that we might not as novices shipwreck ourselves upon their law.

4. It behoves us, therefore, to investigate

deeply concerning the present, and to search out the things which have power to save us. Let us, therefore, flee altogether from all the works of lawlessness, lest the works of lawlessness overpower us; and let us loathe the error of the present time, that we may be loved for that which is to come. Let us give no relaxation to our soul that it should have liberty to consort with sinners and wicked men, lest haply we be made like unto them. The last offence is at hand, concerning which the scripture speaketh, as Enoch saith. For to this end the Master hath cut the seasons and the days short, that His beloved might hasten and come to His inheritance. And the prophet also speaketh on this wise: *Ten reigns shall reign upon the earth, and after them shall arise a little king, who shall bring low three of the kings under one.* In like manner Daniel speaketh concerning the same: *And I saw the fourth beast to be wicked and strong and more intractable than all the beasts of the earth, and how there arose from him ten horns, and from these a little horn, an excrescence, and how that it abased under one three of the great horns.* Ye ought, therefore, to understand. Moreover, I ask you this one thing besides, as being one of yourselves and loving you all in particular more than my own soul, to give heed to yourselves now, and not to liken yourselves to certain persons who pile up sin upon sin, saying that our covenant remains to them also. Ours it is; but they

lost it in this way for ever, when Moses had just received it. For the scripture saith : *And Moses was in the mountain fasting forty days and forty nights, and he received the covenant from the Lord, even tables of stone written with the finger of the hand of the Lord.* But they lost it by turning unto idols. For thus saith the Lord : *Moses, Moses, come down quickly ; for thy people whom thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt hath done unlawfully.* And Moses understood, and threw the two tables from his hands ; and their covenant was broken in pieces, that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed unto our hearts in the hope which springeth from faith in Him. But though I would fain write many things, not as a teacher, but as becometh one who loveth you not to fall short of that which we possess, I was anxious to write to you, being your devoted slave. Wherefore let us take heed in these last days. For the whole time of our faith shall profit us nothing, unless we now, in the season of lawlessness and in the offences that shall be, as becometh sons of God, offer resistance, that the Black One may not effect an entrance. Let us flee from all vanity, let us entirely hate the works of the evil way. Do not entering in privily stand apart by yourselves, as if ye were already justified, but assemble yourselves together and consult concerning the common welfare. For the scripture saith : *Woe unto them that are wise for themselves, and understanding in*

their own sight. Let us become spiritual, let us become a temple perfect unto God. As far as in us lies, let us exercise ourselves in the fear of God, [and] let us strive to keep His commandments, that we may rejoice in His ordinances. The Lord judgeth the world without respect of persons; each man shall receive according to his deeds. If he be good, his righteousness shall go before him in the way; if he be evil, the recompense of his evil-doing is before him; lest perchance, if we relax as men that are called, we should slumber over our sins, and the prince of evil receive power against us and thrust us out from the kingdom of the Lord. Moreover, understand this also, my brothers. When ye see that after so many signs and wonders wrought in Israel, even then they were abandoned, let us give heed, lest haply we be found, as the scripture saith, *many called but few chosen.*

5. For to this end the Lord endured to deliver His flesh unto corruption, that by the remission of sins we might be cleansed, which cleansing is through the blood of His sprinkling. For the scripture concerning Him containeth some things relating to Israel, and some things relating to us. And it speaketh thus: *He was wounded for our transgressions, and He hath been bruised for our sins; by His stripes we were healed. As a sheep He was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb that is dumb before his shearers.* We ought, therefore,

to be very thankful unto the Lord, for that He both revealed unto us the past, and made us wise in the present, and as regards the future we are not without understanding. Now the scripture saith : *Not unjustly is the net spread for the birds.* He meaneth this, that a man shall justly perish, who having the knowledge of the way of righteousness forceth himself into the way of darkness. There is yet this also, my brethren ; if the Lord endured to suffer for our souls, though He was Lord of the whole world, unto whom God said from the foundation of the world, *Let us make man after our image and likeness,* how then did He endure to suffer at the hand of men ? Understand ye. The prophets, receiving grace from Him, prophesied concerning Him. But He Himself endured that He might destroy death and show forth the resurrection of the dead, for that He must needs be manifested in the flesh ; that at the same time He might redeem the promise made to the fathers, and by preparing the new people for Himself might show, while He was on earth, that having brought about the resurrection He will Himself exercise judgment. Yea and further, He preached teaching Israel and performing so many wonders and miracles, and He loved him exceedingly. And when He chose His own apostles who were to proclaim His Gospel, who that He might show that *He came not to call the righteous but sinners* were sinners above every

sin, then He manifested Himself to be the Son of God. For if He had not come in the flesh, neither would men have looked upon Him and been saved, forasmuch as when they look upon the sun that shall cease to be, which is the work of His own hands, they cannot face its rays. Therefore the Son of God came in the flesh to this end, that He might sum up the complete tale of their sins against those who persecuted and slew His prophets. To this end, therefore, He endured. For God saith of the wounds of His flesh that they came from them : *When they shall smite their own shepherd, then shall the sheep of the flock be lost.* But He Himself desired so to suffer ; for it was necessary for Him to suffer on a tree. For he that prophesied said concerning Him, *Spare My soul from the sword ; and, Pierce My flesh with nails, for the congregations of evil-doers have risen up against Me.* And again He saith, *Behold I have given My back to stripes, and My cheeks to smitings, and My face did I set as a hard rock.*

6. When then He gave the commandment, what saith He ? *Who is he that disputeth with Me ? Let him oppose Me. Or who is he that goeth to law with Me ? Let him draw nigh unto the servant of the Lord.* Woe unto you, for ye all shall wax old as a garment, and the moth shall consume you. And again the prophet saith, seeing that as a hard stone He was ordained for crushing : *Behold, I will put into the foundations of Zion a stone very precious,*

elect, a chief corner-stone, honourable. Then again what saith He? And whosoever shall set his hope on Him shall live for ever. Is our hope then set upon a stone? Far be it. But it is because the Lord hath set His flesh in strength. For He saith: And He set Me as a hard rock. And the prophet saith again: The stone which the builders rejected, this became the head of the corner. And again He saith: This is the great and wonderful day, which the Lord made. I write to you the more simply, that ye may understand, I who am the offscouring of your love. What then saith the prophet again? The assembly of evil-doers gathered about Me, they surrounded Me as bees surround a comb; and, For My garment they cast a lot. Forasmuch then as He was about to be manifested in the flesh and to suffer, His suffering was manifested beforehand. For the prophet saith concerning Israel: Woe unto their soul, for they have counselled evil counsel against themselves saying, Let us bind the righteous one, for he is unprofitable for us. What saith the other prophet Moses unto them? Behold, these things saith the Lord God; enter into the good land which the Lord sware unto Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and inherit it, a land flowing with milk and honey. But what saith knowledge? Understand ye. Set your hope on Him who is about to be manifested to you in the flesh, even Jesus. For man is earth suffering; for from the face of the earth

came the creation of Adam. What then saith He? *Into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey.* Blessed is our Lord, brethren, who established among us wisdom and understanding of His secret things. For the prophet speaketh a parable concerning the Lord. Who shall comprehend, save he that is wise and prudent and that loveth his Lord? Forasmuch then as He renewed us in the remission of sins, He made us to be a new type, so that we should have the soul of children, as if He were re-creating us. For the scripture saith concerning us, how He saith to the Son: *Let us make man after our image and after our likeness, and let them rule over the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the heaven and the fishes of the sea.* And the Lord said when He saw the fair creation of us men: *Increase and multiply and fill the earth.* These words refer to the Son. Again I will show thee how the Lord speaketh concerning us. He made a second creation at the last; and the Lord saith: *Behold, I make the last things as the first.* In reference to this then the prophet preached: *Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and be lords over it.* Behold then we have been created anew, as He saith again in another prophet: *Behold, saith the Lord, I will take out from these,* that is to say, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, *their stony hearts, and will put into them hearts of flesh;* for He Himself was to be manifested in the flesh and to dwell

in us. For a holy temple unto the Lord, my brethren, is the abode of our heart. For the Lord saith again : *For wherein shall I appear unto the Lord my God and be glorified ? I will make confession unto Thee in the assembly of my brethren, and I will sing unto Thee in the midst of the assembly of the saints.* We, therefore, are they whom He brought into the good land. What then is the milk and the honey ? Because the child is first kept alive by honey, and then by milk. So in like manner we also, being kept alive by our faith in the promise and by the word, shall live and be lords of the earth. Now we have already said above : *And let them increase and multiply and rule over the fishes.* But who is he that is able [now] to rule over beasts and fishes and fowls of the heaven ? for we ought to perceive that to rule implieth power, so that one should give orders and have dominion. If then this cometh not to pass now, assuredly He spake to us for the hereafter, when we ourselves shall be made perfect so that we may become heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

7. Understand, therefore, children of gladness, that the good Lord manifested all things to us beforehand, that we might know to whom we ought in all things to render thanksgiving and praise. If then the Son of God, being Lord and future Judge of quick and dead, suffered that His wound might give us life, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes. But, more-

over, when crucified He had vinegar and gall given Him to drink. Hear how on this matter the priests of the temple have revealed. Seeing that there is a commandment in scripture, *Whosoever shall not observe the fast shall surely die*, the Lord commanded, because He was in His own person about to offer the vessel of His Spirit a sacrifice for our sins, that the type also which was given in Isaac who was offered upon the altar should be fulfilled. What then saith He in the prophet? *And let them eat of the goat that is offered at the fast for all their sins. Attend carefully: And let all the priests alone eat the entrails unwashed with vinegar.* Wherefore? Since ye are to give Me, who am to offer My flesh for the sins of My new people, gall with vinegar to drink, eat ye alone, while the people fasteth and waileth in sackcloth and ashes; that He might show that He must suffer at their hands. Attend ye to the commandments which He gave. *Take two goats, fair and alike, and offer them, and let the priest take the one for a whole burnt-offering for sins.* But the other one—what must they do with it? *Accursed*, saith He, *is the one.* Give heed how the type of Jesus is revealed. *And do ye all spit upon it and goad it, and place scarlet wool about its head, and so let it be cast into the wilderness.* And when it is so done, he that taketh the goat into the wilderness leadeth it, and taketh off the wool, and putteth it upon the branch which is called

Rachia, the same whereof we are wont to eat the shoots when we find them in the country. Of this briar alone is the fruit thus sweet. What then meaneth this? Give heed. *The one for the altar, and the other accursed.* And, moreover, the accursed one crowned. For they shall see Him in that day wearing the long scarlet robe about His flesh, and shall say, Is not this He, whom once we crucified and set at nought and spat upon? verily this was He, who then said that He was the Son of God. For how is He like the goat? For this reason it says *the goats shall be fair and alike*, that, when they shall see Him coming, then they may be astonished at the likeness of the goat. Therefore behold the type of Jesus that was to suffer. But what meaneth it, that they place the wool in the midst of the thorns? It is a type of Jesus set forth for the Church, since whosoever should desire to take away the scarlet wool it behoved him to suffer many things owing to the terrible nature of the thorn, and through affliction to win the mastery over it. Thus, He saith, they that desire to see Me, and to attain unto My kingdom, must lay hold on Me through tribulation and affliction.

8. But what think ye meaneth the type, where the commandment is given to Israel that those men, whose sins are full grown, offer an heifer and slaughter and burn it, and then that the children take up the ashes, and cast them into vessels, and twist the scarlet

wool on a tree (see here again is the type of the cross and the scarlet wool), and the hyssop, and that this done the children should sprinkle the people one by one, that they may be purified from their sins? Understand ye how in all plainness it is spoken unto you; the calf is Jesus, the men that offer it, being sinners, are they that offered Him for the slaughter. †After this it is no more men (who offer); the glory is no more for sinners. † The children who sprinkle are they that preached unto us the forgiveness of sins and the purification of our heart, they to whom, being twelve in number for a testimony unto the tribes (for there are twelve tribes of Israel), He gave authority over the Gospel, that they should preach it. But wherefore are the children that sprinkle three in number? For a testimony unto Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, because these are mighty before God. Then there is the placing the wool on the tree. This means that the kingdom of Jesus is on the cross, and that they who set their hope on Him shall live for ever. And why is there the wool and the hyssop at the same time? Because in His kingdom there shall be evil and foul days, in which we shall be saved; for he who suffers pain in the flesh is healed through the foulness of the hyssop. Now to us indeed it is manifest that these things so befell for this reason, but to them they were dark, because they heard not the voice of the Lord.

9. Furthermore He saith concerning the ears, how that it is our heart which He circumcised. The Lord saith in the prophet : *With the hearing of the ears they listened unto Me.* And again He saith : *They that are afar off shall hear with their ears, and shall perceive what I have done.* And, *Be ye circumcised in your hearts,* saith the Lord. And again He saith : *Hear, O Israel, for thus saith the Lord thy God. Who is he that desireth to live for ever ? let him hear with his ears the voice of My servant.* And again He saith : *Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken these things for a testimony.* And again He saith : *Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of this people.* And again He saith : *Hear, O my children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness.* Therefore He circumcised our ears, that hearing the word we might believe. But moreover the circumcision, in which they have confidence, is abolished ; for He hath said that a circumcision not of the flesh should be practised. But they transgressed, for an evil angel taught them cleverness. He saith unto them : *Thus saith the Lord your God (so I find the commandment) ; sow not upon thorns, be ye circumcised to your Lord.* And what saith He ? *Be ye circumcised in the hardness of your heart ; and then ye will not harden your neck.* Take this again : *Behold, saith the Lord, all the Gentiles are uncircumcised in their foreskin, but this people is uncircumcised in their hearts.* But thou wilt say : In

truth the people hath been circumcised for a seal. Nay, but so likewise is every Syrian and Arabian and all the priests of the idols. Do all those then too belong to their covenant? Moreover the Egyptians also are included among the circumcised. Learn, therefore, children of love, concerning all things abundantly, that Abraham, who first appointed circumcision, looked forward in the spirit unto Jesus, when he circumcised having received the ordinances of three letters. For the scripture saith : *And Abraham circumcised of his household eighteen males and three hundred.* What then was the knowledge given unto him? Understand ye that He saith *the eighteen* first, and then after an interval *three hundred*. In the eighteen I stands for ten, H for eight. Here thou hast JESUS (IHCOYΣ). And because the cross in the T was to have grace, He saith also *three hundred*. So He revealeth Jesus in the two letters, and in the remaining one the cross. He who placed within us the innate gift of His covenant knoweth; no man hath ever learnt from me a more genuine word; but I know that ye are worthy.

10. But forasmuch as Moses said : *Ye shall not eat swine nor eagle nor falcon nor crow nor any fish which hath no scale upon it*, he received in his understanding three ordinances. Yea and further He saith unto them in Deuteronomy : *And I will lay as a covenant upon this people My ordinances.* So then it is not a

commandment of God that they should not bite with their teeth, but Moses spake it in spirit. Accordingly he mentioned the swine with this intent. Thou shalt not cleave, saith he, to such men who are like unto swine; that is, when they are in luxury they forget the Lord, but when they are in want they recognise the Lord, just as the swine when it eateth knoweth not its lord, but when it is hungry it crieth out, and when it has received food again it is silent. *Neither shalt thou eat eagle nor falcon nor kite nor crow.* Thou shalt not, He saith, cleave unto, or be likened to, such men who know not how to provide food for themselves by toil and sweat, but in their lawlessness seize what belongeth to others, and as if they were walking in guilelessness watch and search about for some one to rob in their rapacity, just as these birds alone do not provide food for themselves, but sit idle and seek how they may eat the meat that belongeth to others, being pestilent in their evil-doings. *And thou shalt not eat,* saith He, *lamprey nor polypus nor cuttle-fish.* Thou shalt not, He meaneth, become like unto such men, who are desperately wicked, and are already condemned to death, just as these fishes alone are accursed and swim in the depths, not swimming on the surface like the rest, but dwell on the ground beneath the deep sea. Moreover, *thou shalt not eat the hare.* Why so? Thou shalt not be found a corrupter of boys, nor shalt thou become like

such persons ; for the hare gaineth one passage in the body every year ; for according to the number of years it lives it has just so many orifices. Again, *neither shalt thou eat the hyena* ; thou shalt not, saith He, become an adulterer or a fornicator, neither shalt thou resemble such persons. Why so ? Because this animal changeth its nature year by year, and becometh at one time male and at another female. Moreover, He hath hated the weasel also and with good reason. Thou shalt not, saith He, become such as those men of whom we hear as working iniquity with their mouth for uncleanness, neither shalt thou cleave unto impure women who work iniquity with their mouth. For this animal conceiveth with its mouth. Concerning meats then Moses received three decrees to this effect and uttered them in a spiritual sense ; but they accepted them according to the lust of the flesh, as though they referred to eating. And David also receiveth knowledge of the same three decrees, and saith : *Blessed is the man who hath not gone in the counsel of the ungodly*—even as the fishes go in darkness into the depths ; *and hath not stood in the path of sinners*—just as they who pretend to fear the Lord sin like swine ; *and hath not sat on the seat of the destroyers*—as the birds that are seated for prey. Ye have now the complete lesson concerning eating. Again Moses saith : *Ye shall eat everything that divideth the hoof and cheweth the cud*. What meaneth he ?

He that receiveth the food knoweth Him that giveth him the food, and being refreshed appeareth to rejoice in Him. Well said he, having regard to the commandment. What then meaneth he? Cleave unto those that fear the Lord, with those who meditate in their heart on the distinction of the word which they have received, with those who tell of the ordinances of the Lord and keep them, with those who know that meditation is a work of gladness and who chew the cud of the word of the Lord. But why that which divideth the hoof? Because the righteous man both walketh in this world, and at the same time looketh for the holy world to come. Ye see how wise a lawgiver Moses was. But whence should they perceive or understand these things? Howbeit we having justly perceived the commandments tell them as the Lord willed. To this end He circumcised our ears and hearts, that we might understand these things.

II. But let us inquire whether the Lord took care to signify beforehand concerning the water and the cross. Now concerning the water it is written in reference to Israel, how that they would not receive the baptism which bringeth remission of sins, but would build for themselves. For the prophet saith : *Be astonished, O heaven, and let the earth shudder the more at this, for this people hath done two evil things ; they abandoned Me the fountain of life, and they digged for themselves*

a pit of death. Is My holy mountain of Sinai a desert rock? for ye shall be as the fledglings of a bird, which flutter aloft when deprived of their nest. And again the prophet saith: I will go before thee, and level mountains and crush gates of brass and break in pieces bolts of iron, and I will give thee treasures dark, concealed, unseen, that they may know that I am the Lord God. And, Thou shalt dwell in a lofty cave of a strong rock. And, His water shall be sure; ye shall see the King in glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord. And again He saith in another prophet: And He that doeth these things shall be as the tree that is planted by the parting streams of waters, which shall yield his fruit at his proper season, and his leaf shall not fall off, and all things whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. Not so are the ungodly, not so, but are as the dust which the wind scattereth from the face of the earth. Therefore ungodly men shall not stand in judgment, neither sinners in the counsel of the righteous; for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish. Ye perceive how He pointed out the water and the cross at the same time. For this is the meaning: Blessed are they that set their hope on the cross, and go down into the water; for He speaketh of the reward at his proper season; then, saith He, I will repay. But now what saith He? His leaves shall not fall off; He meaneth by this that every word, which shall come forth from you

through your mouth in faith and love, shall be for the conversion and hope of many. And again another prophet saith: *And the land of Jacob was praised above the whole earth.* He meaneth this: He glorifieth the vessel of His Spirit. Next what saith He? *And there was a river streaming from the right hand, and beautiful trees rose up from it; and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever.* This He saith, because we go down into the water laden with sins and filth, and rise up from it bearing fruit in the heart, resting our fear and hope on Jesus in the spirit. *And whosoever shall eat of these shall live for ever;* He meaneth this: whosoever, saith He, shall hear these things spoken and shall believe, shall live for ever.

12. In like manner again He defineth concerning the cross in another prophet, who saith: *And when shall these things be accomplished?* saith the Lord. *Whensoever a tree shall be bended and stand upright, and whensoever blood shall drop from a tree.* Again thou art taught concerning the cross, and Him that was to be crucified. And He saith again in Moses, when war was waged against Israel by men of another nation, and that He might remind them when the war was waged against them that for their sins they were delivered unto death; the Spirit saith to the heart of Moses, that he should make a type of the cross and of Him that was to suffer, that unless, saith He, they shall set

their hope on Him, war shall be waged against them for ever. Moses therefore pileth arms one upon another in the midst of the encounter, and standing on higher ground than any he stretched out his hands, and so Israel was again victorious. Then, whenever he lowered them, they were slain with the sword. Wherefore was this? That they might learn that they cannot be saved, unless they should set their hope on Him. And again in another prophet He saith : *The whole day long have I stretched out My hands to a disobedient people that did gainsay My righteous way.* Again Moses maketh a type of Jesus, how that He must suffer, and that He Himself whom they shall think to have destroyed shall make alive in an emblem when Israel was falling. For the Lord caused all manner of serpents to bite them, and they died (forasmuch as the transgression was wrought in Eve through the serpent), that He might convince them that by reason of their transgression they should be delivered over to the affliction of death. Yea and further though Moses gave the commandment : *Ye shall not have a molten or a carved image for your God,* yet he himself made one that he might shew them a type of Jesus. So Moses maketh a brazen serpent, and setteth it up conspicuously, and summoneth the people by proclamation. When, therefore, they were assembled together they entreated Moses that he should

offer up intercession for them that they might be healed. And Moses said unto them : Whensoever, said he, one of you shall be bitten, let him come to the serpent which is placed on the tree, and let him believe and hope that the serpent being himself dead can make alive ; and forthwith he shall be saved. And so they did. Here again thou hast in these things also the glory of Jesus, how that in Him and unto Him are all things. What again saith Moses unto Jesus (Joshua) the son of Nun, when he giveth him this name, as being a prophet, that all the people might give ear to him alone, because the Father revealeth all things concerning His Son Jesus ? Moses therefore saith to Jesus the son of Nun, giving him this name, when he sent him as a spy on the land : *Take a book in thy hands, and write what the Lord saith, how that the Son of God shall cut up by the roots all the house of Amalek in the last days.* Behold, again it is Jesus, not a son of man, but the Son of God, and He was revealed in the flesh in a figure. Since then men will say that Christ is the son of David. David himself prophesieth, being afraid and understanding the error of sinners : *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on My right hand until I set thine enemies for a footstool under Thy feet.* And again thus saith Isaiah : *The Lord said unto my Christ the Lord, of whose right hand I laid hold, that the nations should give ear before Him, and I*

will break down the strength of kings. See how David calleth Him Lord, and calleth Him not Son.

13. Now let us see whether this people or the first people hath the inheritance, and whether the covenant had reference to us or to them. Hear then what the scripture saith concerning the people: *And Isaac prayed concerning Rebecca his wife, for she was barren. And she conceived. Then Rebecca went out to inquire of the Lord. And the Lord said unto her: Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples in thy belly, and one people shall vanquish another people, and the greater shall serve the less. Ye ought to understand who Isaac is, and who Rebecca is, and in whose case He hath shewn that the one people is greater than the other. And in another prophecy Jacob speaketh more plainly to Joseph his son, saying: Behold, the Lord hath not bereft me of thy face; bring me thy sons, that I may bless them. And he brought Ephraim and Manasseh, desiring that Manasseh should be blessed, because he was the elder; for Joseph led him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in the spirit a type of the people that should come afterwards. And what saith He? And Jacob crossed his hands, and placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. And Joseph said unto Jacob, Transfer thy right hand to the head of Manasseh, for he is my first-born son. And Jacob said*

to Joseph, I know it, my son, I know it ; but the greater shall serve the less. Yet this one also shall be blessed. Mark in whose cases He ordained that this people should be first and heir of the covenant. If then besides this He also recorded it through Abraham, we attain the completion of our knowledge. What then saith he to Abraham when he alone believed, and was ascribed for righteousness? *Behold, I have made thee, Abraham, a father of nations that believe in God in uncircumcision.*

14. Yea verily, but as regards the covenant which He sware to the fathers to give it to the people let us see whether He hath actually given it. He hath given it, but they themselves were not found worthy to receive it by reason of their sins. For the prophet saith : *And Moses was fasting in Mount Sinai forty days and forty nights, that he might receive the covenant of the Lord to give to the people. And [Moses] received from the Lord the two tables which were written by the finger of the hand of the Lord in the spirit. And Moses took them, and brought them down to give them to the people. And the Lord said unto Moses : Moses, Moses, come down quickly ; for thy people, whom thou leadest forth from the land of Egypt, hath done wickedly. And Moses perceived that they had made for themselves again molten images, and he cast them out of his hands and the tables of the covenant of the Lord were broken in pieces.*

Moses received them, but they themselves were not found worthy. But how did we receive them? Mark this. Moses received them being a servant, but the Lord Himself gave them to us to be the people of His inheritance, having endured patiently for our sakes. But He was made manifest, in order that at the same time they might be perfected in their sins, and we might receive the covenant through Him who inherited it, even the Lord Jesus, who was prepared beforehand hereunto, that appearing in person He might redeem out of darkness our hearts which had already been paid over unto death and delivered up to the iniquity of error, and thus establish the covenant in us through the word. For it is written how the Father chargeth Him to deliver us from darkness, and to prepare a holy people for Himself. Therefore saith the prophet: *I the Lord thy God called thee in righteousness, and I will lay hold of thy hand and will strengthen thee, and I have given thee to be a covenant of the race, a light to the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, and to bring forth them that are bound from their fetters, and them that sit in darkness from their prison house.* We perceive then whence we were ransomed. Again the prophet saith: *Behold I have set Thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that Thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth; thus saith the Lord that ransomed thee, even God.* Again the prophet saith: *The Spirit of the Lord is*

upon Me, wherefore He anointed Me to preach good tidings to the humble ; He hath sent Me to heal them that are broken-hearted, to preach release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of recompense, to comfort all that mourn.

15. Moreover, concerning the sabbath likewise it is written in the Ten Words, in which He spake to Moses face to face on Mount Sinai : *And ye shall hallow the sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and with a pure heart.* And in another place He saith : *If My sons observe the sabbath, then I will bestow My mercy upon them.* Of the sabbath He speaketh in the beginning of the creation : *And God made the works of His hands in six days, and He ended on the seventh day, and rested on it, and He hallowed it.* Give heed, children, what this meaneth : *He ended in six days.* He meaneth this, that in six thousand years the Lord shall bring all things to an end ; for the day with Him signifieth a thousand years ; and this He himself beareth me witness, saying : *Behold, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years.* Therefore, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything shall come to an end. *And He rested on the seventh day.* This He meaneth : when His Son shall come, and shall abolish the time of the Lawless One, and shall judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun and the moon and the stars, then shall He truly rest

on the seventh day. Yea and furthermore He saith: *Thou shalt hallow it with pure hands and with a pure heart.* If, therefore, a man is able now to hallow the day which God hallowed, though he be pure in heart, we have gone utterly astray. But if after all then and not till then shall we truly rest and hallow it, when we shall ourselves be able to do so after being justified and receiving the promise, when iniquity is no more and all things have been made new by the Lord, we shall be able to hallow it then, because we ourselves shall have been hallowed first. Finally He saith to them: *Your new moons and your sabbaths I cannot away with.* Ye see what is His meaning; it is not your present sabbaths that are acceptable [unto Me], but the sabbath which I have made, in the which, when I have set all things at rest, I will make the beginning of the eighth day which is the beginning of another world. Wherefore also we keep the eighth day for rejoicing, in the which also Jesus rose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into the heavens.

16. Moreover, I will tell you likewise concerning the temple, how these wretched men being led astray set their hope on the building, and not on their God that made them, as being a house of God. For like the Gentiles almost they consecrated Him in the temple. But what saith the Lord abolishing the temple? Learn ye. *Who hath measured the*

heaven with a span, or hath measured the earth with his hand? Have not I, saith the Lord? The heaven is My throne and the earth the footstool of My feet. What manner of house will ye build for Me? Or what shall be My resting-place? Ye perceive that their hope is vain. Furthermore He saith again: *Behold, they that pulled down this temple themselves shall build it.* So it cometh to pass; for because they went to war it was pulled down by their enemies. Now also the very servants of their enemies shall build it up. Again, it was revealed how the city and the temple and the people of Israel should be betrayed. For the scripture saith: *And it shall be in the last days, that the Lord shall deliver up the sheep of the pasture and the fold and the tower thereof to destruction.* And it came to pass as the Lord spake. But let us inquire whether there be any temple of God. There is; in the place where He Himself undertakes to make and finish it. For it is written: *And it shall come to pass, when the week is being accomplished, the temple of God shall be built gloriously in the name of the Lord.* I find then that there is a temple. How then shall it be built in the name of the Lord? Understand ye. Before we believed on God, the abode of our heart was corrupt and weak, a temple truly built by hands; for it was full of idolatry and was a house of demons, because we did whatsoever was contrary to God. *But it shall be built in the name of the Lord.* Give

heed then that the temple of the Lord may be built gloriously. How? Understand ye. By receiving the remission of our sins and hoping on the Name we became new, created afresh from the beginning. Wherefore God dwelleth truly in our habitation within us. How? The word of His faith, the calling of His promise, the wisdom of the ordinances, the commandments of the teaching, He Himself prophesying in us, He Himself dwelling in us, opening for us who had been in bondage unto death the door of the temple, which is the mouth, and giving us repentance leadeth us to the incorruptible temple. For he that desireth to be saved looketh not to the man, but to Him that dwelleth and speaketh in him, being amazed at this that he has never at any time heard these words from the mouth of the speaker, nor himself ever desired to hear them. This is the spiritual temple built up to the Lord.

17. So far as it was possible with all simplicity to declare it unto you, my soul hopeth that I have not omitted anything [of the matters pertaining unto salvation and so failed in my desire]. For if I should write to you concerning things immediate or future, ye would not understand them, because they are put in parables. So much then for this.

18. But let us pass on to another lesson and teaching. There are two ways of teaching and of power, the one of light and the other

of darkness; and there is a great difference between the two ways. For on the one are stationed the light-giving angels of God, on the other the angels of Satan. And the one is Lord from all eternity and unto all eternity, whereas the other is Lord of the season of iniquity that now is.

19. This then is the way of light, if anyone desiring to travel on the way to his appointed place would be zealous in his works. The knowledge then which is given to us whereby we may walk therein is as follows. Thou shalt love Him that made thee, thou shalt fear Him that created thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death; thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit; thou shalt not cleave to those who walk in the way of death; thou shalt hate everything that is not pleasing to God; thou shalt hate all hypocrisy; thou shalt never forsake the commandments of the Lord. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be lowly-minded in all things. Thou shalt not assume glory to thyself. Thou shalt not entertain a wicked design against thy neighbour; thou shalt not admit boldness into thy soul. Thou shalt not commit fornication, *thou shalt not commit adultery*, thou shalt not corrupt boys. The word of God shall not come forth from thee where any are unclean. Thou shalt not make a difference in a person to reprove him for a transgression. Thou shalt be meek, thou shalt be *quiet*, thou shalt be *fearing the words*

which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not bear a grudge against thy brother. Thou shalt not doubt whether a thing shall be or not be. *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain.* Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul. Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion, nor again shalt thou kill it when it is born. Thou shalt not withhold thy hand from thy son or thy daughter, but from their youth thou shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not be found coveting thy neighbour's goods; thou shalt not be found greedy of gain. Neither shalt thou cleave with thy soul to the lofty, but shalt walk with the humble and righteous. The accidents that befall thee thou shalt receive as good, knowing that nothing is done without God. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued. Thou shalt be subject unto thy masters as to a type of God in shame and fear. Thou shalt not command in bitterness thy bondservant or thine handmaid who set their hope on the same God, lest haply they should cease to fear the God who is over both of you; for He came not to call with respect of persons, but to call those whom the Spirit had prepared. Thou shalt make thy neighbour partake in all things, and shalt not say *that anything is thine own.* For if ye are fellow-partakers in that which is imperishable, how much rather shall ye be in the things which are perishable. Thou shalt not be hasty

with thy tongue, for the mouth is a snare of death. So far as thou art able, thou shalt be pure for thy soul's sake. *Be not thou found holding out thy hands to receive, and drawing them in to give.* Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye everyone *that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord.* Thou shalt remember the day of judgment night and day, and thou shalt seek out day by day the persons of the saints, either labouring by word and going to exhort them and meditating how thou mayst save souls by thy word, or thou shalt work with thy hands for a ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, neither shalt thou murmur when giving, but thou shalt know who is the good paymaster of thy reward. Thou shalt keep those things which thou hast received, neither adding to them nor taking away from them. Thou shalt utterly hate the Evil One. Thou shalt judge righteously. Thou shalt not make a schism, but thou shalt pacify them that contend by bringing them together. Thou shalt confess thy sins. Thou shalt not betake thyself to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of light.

20. But the way of the Black One is crooked and full of a curse. For it is a way of eternal death with punishment wherein are the things that destroy men's souls—idolatry, boldness, exaltation of power, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, adultery, murder, plundering, pride, transgression, treachery, malice,

stubbornness, witchcraft, magic, covetousness, absence of the fear of God; persecutors of good men, hating the truth, loving lies, not perceiving the reward of righteousness, not *cleaving to the good* nor to righteous judgment, paying no heed to the widow and the orphan, wakeful not for the fear of God but for that which is evil; men from whom gentleness and forbearance stand aloof and far off; loving vain things, pursuing a recompense, not pitying the poor man, not toiling for him that is oppressed with toil, ready in slander, not recognising Him that made them, murderers of children, corrupters of the creatures of God, turning away from him that is in want, oppressing him that is afflicted, advocates of the wealthy, unjust judges of the poor, sinful in all things.

21. It is good, therefore, to learn the ordinances of the Lord, as many as have been written above, and to walk in them. For he that doeth these things shall be glorified in the kingdom of God; whereas he that chooseth their opposites shall perish together with his works. For this cause is the resurrection, for this the recompense. I entreat those of you who are in higher station, if ye will receive any counsel of good advice from me, keep amongst you those to whom ye may do good. Fail not. The day is at hand, in which everything shall be destroyed together with the Evil One. *The Lord is at hand and His reward.* Again and again I entreat you;

be good lawgivers one to another; continue faithful counsellors to yourselves; take away from you all hypocrisy. And may God, who is Lord of the whole world, give you wisdom, judgment, learning, knowledge of His ordinances, patience. And be ye taught of God, seeking diligently what the Lord requireth of you, and act that ye may be found in the day of judgment. But if you have any remembrance of good, call me to mind when ye practise these things, that both my desire and my watchfulness may lead to some good result. I entreat you asking it as a favour. So long as the good vessel (of the body) is with you, be lacking in none of these things, but search them out constantly, and fulfil every commandment; for they deserve it. For this reason I was the more eager to write to you so far as I was able, that I might give you joy. Fare ye well, children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of every grace be with your spirit.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

I

THIS work is entitled in the most ancient notices "The Shepherd," or "The Shepherd of Hermas." Hermas is both the narrator and the hero of the narrative. The Shepherd is the divine teacher, who communicates to Hermas, either by precept or by allegory, the lessons which are to be disseminated for the instruction of the Church. Later confusions, which identify Hermas with the Pastor, find no countenance in the work itself. Hermas' own personal and family history are interwoven from time to time into the narrative, and made subservient to the moral purposes of the work. In this case it resembles the *Divina Commedia*, though history plays a much less important part here than in Dante's great poem.

The structure of the work is seriously impaired by the common division into three parts or books, *Visions*, *Mandates*, and *Similitudes*, as if they stood on the same level. It may be convenient to use this mode of division for purposes of reference alone; but we must not suffer it to dominate our conception of the work. The *Visions* are introductory, and the Shepherd does not appear until their close. He delivers his message to Hermas in two parts, (1) *Mandates* or Precepts, (2) *Similitudes* or Parables, *i.e.* moral lessons taught by allegory.

The person first introduced in the book is one Rhoda (*Vis.* i. 1), to whom Hermas had been sold when brought from Rome as a slave. Her part is somewhat the same as Beatrice's in Dante's poem. She appears to him in the heavens as he is on his way to Cumæ, and reproaches him with his not altogether blameless passion for her.

Having thus aroused his conscience, she withdraws. Then he sees before him an aged woman whom (considering the place) he not unnaturally mistakes for the Sibyl (*Vis.* ii. 4), but who proves to be the Church. The object of the *Visions* indeed seems to be to place before the reader the conception of the Church under the guise of an aged woman, whose features become more youthful at each successive appearance. Thus the lessons of a smitten and penitent conscience, of the Church growing and spreading (the Church Militant), lastly, of the Church purified by suffering (the Church Triumphant), and the terrors of the judgment, occupy the four *Visions* properly so called. Hermas is enjoined to write down all that he hears. One copy of his book he is to send to Clement, who is charged with making it known to foreign cities; another to Grapte, whose business it is to instruct the widows and orphans, and he himself, together with the presbyters, is to read it to the people of "this city," *i.e.* Rome (*Vis.* ii. 4).

The fifth *Vision* is different in kind from the preceding four, and indeed is designated, not a Vision (*ὄρασις*), but a Revelation (*ἀποκάλυψις*). Hermas is now in his own house. The appearance is no longer the representation of the Church, but a man of glorious visage in a pastoral habit, who has been sent to dwell with him, and teach him to the end of his days. He is "the Shepherd, the angel of repentance," who delivers to him certain Mandates and Similitudes, which he is ordered to write down, and which form the two remaining books—the main part of the work.

The teaching of the Shepherd then is contained in the twelve *Mandates* and the ten *Similitudes* which follow. But the tenth and last of the latter is not strictly a parable like the rest. It contains a final chapter, summing up the function of the Shepherd and his heavenly associates, in the work of perfecting the instruction of Hermas.

2

The geographical setting of the narrative has its centre in Rome, where evidently the work itself was written.

Hermas' home in the city, the road to Cumæ, the *Via Campana*—these are the localities mentioned by name. There is one exception. Arcadia is chosen as the subject of a Similitude (*Sim.* ix.), the last properly so called, because the mountains visible from a central height by their character and position afford a good subject for the concluding parable, the component elements of the Church (see J. A. Robinson, *The Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, p. 30, where the views of Rendel Harris are discussed and further developed and modified). As he was brought to Rome, and sold as a slave there, Arcadia may have been his native place.

3

The *date* is uncertain. The work is found in general circulation in the Eastern and Western Churches, soon after the middle of the second century. About this time also it must have been translated into Latin. It is quoted by Irenæus in Gaul, by Tertullian in Africa, by Clement and Origen in Alexandria. All these fathers—even Tertullian, before he became a Montanist—either cite it as scripture, or assign to it a special authority as in some sense inspired and quasi-canonical. The same inference as to its early influence may be drawn from the denunciation of Tertullian, who—now become a Montanist—rejects it as repulsive to his puritan tendencies (*de Pudic.* 10), and the author of the *Muratorian Canon* (c. A.D. 180), who denies it a place among either the prophets or the apostles, though apparently allowing it to be read privately for edification. Its canonicity, moreover, had been the subject of discussion in more than one council, when Tertullian wrote (*l.c.* not before A.D. 212).

With the date is closely connected the question of *authorship*. On this point there are two ancient traditions.

(1) The author of the "Shepherd" was the same Hermas who is greeted by S. Paul as a member of the Roman Church, A.D. 58 (Rom. xvi. 14). This is the view

adopted by Origen (iv. p. 683) in his commentary on the passage, where he speaks of the book as "a very useful scripture, and in my opinion divinely inspired"; but, as he introduces this view of the authorship with "ut puto" it is plain that he does not fall back on any historical tradition in support of his opinion. His influence had great weight with subsequent writers.

(2) It was written by one Hermas, the brother of pope Pius I (c. A.D. 140-155) during the episcopate of the latter. This is stated in the *Muratorian Canon* (c. A.D. 180) "sedente cathedram urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre eius." This statement, however, is not consistent with the mention of Clement as a contemporary. If it be true, either some other Clement is meant, or the original Greek of the Canon, of which only the Latin is extant, cannot have stated that Pius was actually bishop at the time when it was written.

This tradition appears likewise in one or two subsequent writings, which, however, are perhaps not independent. It is somewhat discredited by the fact that its motive in depreciating the value of the work, as being quite recent and having no claim to be read in the Church like the writings of the Apostles and prophets, appears in the context.¹

(3) Besides these two traditional views, a third and intermediate Hermas, not otherwise known, is postulated as the author about A.D. 90-100, to meet the difficulty about Clement. This is the view of several recent critics (Zahn, *Hirt des Hermas*, p. 14 sq., followed by Caspari and others). The notices of the Christian ministry, and of the condition of the Church generally, seem to be consistent with either the second or the third view,

¹ These words are illustrated by the fact that (a) in the Codex Sinaiticus (S) the "Shepherd" appears at the end of the volume, following on the Epistle of Barnabas, which again follows the Apocalypse and the books of the Canonical New Testament; (b) in the list appended to the Codex Claromontanus (sixth century) again it follows the New Testament proper, of which the closing books are "Revelation of John," "Acts," and is succeeded by the apocryphal "Acts of Paul," and "Revelation of Peter"; (c) in several MSS. of the Latin version it appears in different parts of the Old Testament.

though they suggest the earlier date rather than the later (*Vis.* ii. 2, 4, iii. 5, 9, *Sim.* ix. 27).

On the whole we may, though not without diffidence, adopt (2) the ancient tradition, which is definite and claims to be almost contemporary, as the safest guide; though confessedly (3) the modern suggestion has stronger support from internal evidence, such as it is.

The Æthiopic version, which identifies the author with S. Paul, ought to be regarded as a blunder, rather than a tradition founded on Acts xiv. 12 τὸν δὲ Παῦλον Ἑρμῆν.

4

The authorities for the text are as follows :

I. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

1. The celebrated Sinaitic MS. (S) of the fourth century, where, after a gap caused by the loss of six leaves, the Shepherd follows the Epistle of Barnabas at the end of the volume. Unfortunately, however, only a fragment, roughly speaking the first quarter of the text, survives, the manuscript, after several lacunæ, breaking off finally in the middle of *Mand.* iv. 3.

2. The Athos MS. (A), written in a very small and cramped hand of the fourteenth century. This consists of three leaves now in the University Library at Leipsic, and six leaves still remaining in the Monastery of Gregory on Mount Athos. The portion of the manuscript now at Leipsic was in 1855 brought from Mount Athos by the famous forger Simonides, who sold it to the University there, as well as what purported to be a copy of six other leaves of the same document. This copy was subsequently edited by Anger. The existence, however, of the original manuscript was questioned until 1880, when Dr. Lambros rediscovered it at Mount Athos. His collation of the readings of these six leaves was in 1888 published by J. A. Robinson (*The Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*). Like the Sinaitic, this manuscript is incomplete, having lost a leaf at the end; but from *Mand.* iv. 3 to *Sim.* ix. 30 (where it fails us), that is to

say, for nearly three-fourths of the whole work, it is our sole Greek authority for the text.

Besides Simonides' *apographon* mentioned above, another copy was subsequently found among his papers after his arrest, and published by Tischendorf. The publication of Dr. Lambros' collation shows us that, whereas the *apographon* edited by Anger was a forgery, the second *apographon* was truly described as being a transcript of the Athos MS. In passages, therefore, where the Athos codex has become damaged and illegible between 1855 and 1880, this *apographon* (A^s) has a certain value.

II. VERSIONS.

1. Latin Versions. These are two in number, (a) the so-called *Old Latin Version* (L₁), which exists in about twenty manuscripts, the mutual relation of which has not yet been made quite clear. From this version Faber Stapulensis published his *editio princeps* in 1513. (b) The *Palatine Version* (L₂), found in one manuscript of the fourteenth century, and in 1857 published in full by Dressel. Both these versions give us the text virtually complete.

2. Æthiopic Version (E). This exists in a manuscript discovered in 1847 in the monastery of Guindaguinde by A. d'Abbadie, who procured a transcript, but did not realise the full importance of his discovery. At length at Dillmann's earnest request he published the text with a Latin translation in 1860. This version likewise contains the Pastor complete.

The mutual relations and comparative value of our authorities are matters of considerable dispute; but a comparison of the early chapters, where the Greek of the Sinaitic MS. exists, shows us that S generally agrees with L₁ L₂ against AE, the close connection of this latter pair of authorities being noticeable throughout. Again, within these groups, L₂ appears to preserve a purer text than L₁, and E than A.

III. PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS.

Besides these direct authorities for the text, the "Shepherd of Hermas" is quoted in the Greek by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, while considerable passages have been incorporated into the texts of Antiochus the Monk and ps.-Athanasius.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

VISION I

I. THE master, who reared me, had sold me to one Rhoda in Rome. After many years, I met her again, and began to love her as a sister. After a certain time I saw her bathing in the river Tiber; and I gave her my hand, and led her out of the river. So, seeing her beauty, I reasoned in my heart, saying, "Happy were I, if I had such an one to wife both in beauty and in character." I merely reflected on this and nothing more. After a certain time, as I was journeying to Cumæ, and glorifying God's creatures for their greatness and splendour and power, as I walked I fell asleep. And a Spirit took me, and bore me away through a pathless tract, through which no man could pass: for the place was precipitous, and broken into clefts by reason of the waters. When then I had crossed the river, I came into the level country, and knelt down, and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins. Now, while I prayed, the heaven was opened, and I see the lady, whom I had desired, greeting me from heaven, saying, "Good-morrow, Hermas." And, looking at her, I said to her,

“ Lady, what doest *thou* here? ” Then she answered me, “ I was taken up, that I might convict thee of thy sins before the Lord.” I said to her, “ Dost thou now convict me? ” “ Nay, not so,” said she, “ but hear the words, that I shall say to thee. God, who dwelleth in the heavens, and created out of nothing the things which are, and increased and multiplied them for His holy Church’s sake, is wroth with thee, for that thou didst sin against me.” I answered her and said, “ Sin against thee? In what way? Did I ever speak an unseemly word unto thee? Did I not always regard thee as a goddess? Did I not always respect thee as a sister? How couldst thou falsely charge me, lady, with such villainy and uncleanness? ” Laughing she saith unto me, “ The desire after evil entered into thine heart. Nay, thinkest thou not that it is an evil deed for a righteous man, if the evil desire should enter into his heart? It is indeed a sin and a great one too,” saith she; “ for the righteous man entertaineth righteous purposes. While then his purposes are righteous, his repute stands steadfast in the heavens, and he finds the Lord easily propitiated in all that he does. But they that entertain evil purposes in their hearts, bring upon themselves death and captivity, especially they that claim for themselves this present world, and boast in its riches, and cleave not to the good things that are to come. Their souls shall rue it,

seeing that they have no hope, but have abandoned themselves and their life. But do thou pray unto God, and He shall heal thine own sins, and those of thy whole house, and of all the saints."

2. As soon as she had spoken these words the heavens were shut; and I was given over to horror and grief. Then I said within myself, "If this sin is recorded against me, how can I be saved? Or how shall I propitiate God for my sins which are full-blown? Or with what words shall I entreat the Lord that He may be propitious unto me?" While I was advising and discussing these matters in my heart, I see before me a great white chair of snow-white wool; and there came an aged lady in glistening raiment, having a book in her hands, and she sat down alone, and she saluted me, "Good-morrow, Hermas." Then I, grieved and weeping, said, "Good-morrow, lady." And she said to me, "Why so gloomy, Hermas, thou that art patient and good-tempered, and art always smiling? Why so downcast in thy looks, and far from cheerful?" And I said to her, "Because of an excellent lady's saying that I had sinned against her." Then she said, "Far be this thing from the servant of God! Nevertheless the thought did enter into thy heart concerning her. Now to the servants of God such a purpose bringeth sin. For it is an evil and mad purpose to overtake a devout spirit that hath been already approved, that

it should desire an evil deed, and especially if it be Hermas the temperate, who abstaineth from every evil desire, and is full of all simplicity and of great guilelessness.

3. " Yet it is not for this that God is wroth with thee, but that thou mayest convert thy family, that hath done wrong against the Lord and against you their parents. But out of fondness for thy children thou didst not admonish thy family, but didst suffer it to become fearfully corrupt. Therefore the Lord is wroth with thee. But He will heal all thy past sins, which have been committed in thy family; for by reason of their sins and iniquities thou hast been corrupted by the affairs of this world. But the great mercy of the Lord had pity on thee and thy family, and will strengthen thee, and establish thee in His glory. Only be not thou careless, but take courage, and strengthen thy family. For as the smith hammering his work conquers the task which he wills, so also doth righteous discourse repeated daily conquer all evil. Cease not therefore to reprove thy children; for I know that if they shall repent with all their heart, they shall be written in the books of life with the saints." After these words of hers had ceased, she saith unto me, " Wilt thou listen to me as I read? " Then say I, " Yes, lady." She saith to me, " Be attentive, and hear the glories of God." I listened with attention and with wonder to that which I had no power to remember;

for all the words were terrible, such as man cannot bear. The last words, however, I remembered, for they were suitable for us and gentle. "Behold, the God of Hosts, who by His invisible and mighty power and by His great wisdom created the world, and by His glorious purpose clothed His creation with comeliness, and by His strong word fixed the heaven, and founded the earth upon the waters, and by His own wisdom and providence formed His holy Church, which also He blessed—behold, He removeth the heavens and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and all things are made level for His elect, that He may fulfil to them the promise which He promised with great glory and rejoicing, if so be that they shall keep the ordinances of God, which they received, with great faith."

4. When then she finished reading and arose from her chair, there came four young men, and they took away the chair, and departed towards the East. Then she calleth me unto her, and she touched my breast, and said to me, "Did my reading please thee?" And I say unto her, "Lady, these last words please me, but the former were difficult and hard." Then she spake to me, saying, "These last words are for the righteous, but the former are for the heathen and the rebellious." While she yet spake with me, two men appeared, and took her by the arms, and they departed, whither the chair also had gone,

towards the East. And she smiled as she departed and, as she was going, she saith to me, "Play the man, Hermas."

VISION II

1. I was on the way to Cumæ, at the same season as last year, and I called to mind my last year's vision as I walked; and again a Spirit taketh me, and carrieth me away to the same place as last year. When then I arrived at the place, I fell upon my knees, and began to pray to the Lord, and to glorify His name, for that He counted me worthy, and made known unto me my former sins. But after I had risen up from prayer, I behold before me the aged lady, whom also I had seen last year, walking and reading a little book. And she saith to me, "Canst thou report these things to the elect of God?" I say unto her, "Lady, I cannot recollect so much; but give me the little book, that I may copy it." "Take it," saith she, "and be sure and return it to me." I took it, and retiring to a certain spot in the country I copied it letter for letter: for I could not make out the syllables. When then I had finished the letters of the book, suddenly the book was snatched out of my hand; but by whom I did not see.

2. Now after fifteen days, when I had fasted and entreated the Lord earnestly, the know-

ledge of the writing was revealed to me. And this is what was written :

“Thy seed, Hermas, have sinned against God, and have blasphemed the Lord, and have betrayed their parents through great wickedness, yea, they have got the name of betrayers of parents, and yet they did not profit by their betrayal; and they still further added to their sins wanton deeds and reckless wickedness; and so the measure of their transgressions was filled up. But make these words known to all thy children, and to thy wife who shall be as thy sister; for she too refraineth not from using her tongue, wherewith she doeth evil. But, when she hears these words, she will refrain, and will find mercy. After that thou hast made known unto them all these words, which the Master commanded me that they should be revealed unto thee, then all their sins which they sinned aforetime are forgiven to them; yea, and to all the saints that have sinned unto this day, if they repent with their whole heart, and remove double-mindedness from their heart. For the Master sware by His own glory, as concerning His elect; that if, now that this day has been set as a limit, sin shall hereafter be committed, they shall not find salvation; for repentance for the righteous hath an end; the days of repentance are accomplished for all the saints; whereas for the Gentiles there is repentance until the last day. Thou shalt therefore say unto the

rulers of the Church, that they direct their paths in righteousness, that they may receive in full the promises with abundant glory. Ye therefore that work righteousness be steadfast, and be not double-minded, that ye may have admission with the holy angels. Blessed are ye, as many as endure patiently the great tribulation that cometh, and as many as shall not deny their life. For the Lord sware concerning His Son, that those who denied their Lord should be rejected from their life, even they that are now about to deny Him in the coming days; but to those who denied Him aforetime, to them mercy was given of His great lovingkindness.

3. "But do thou, Hermas, no longer bear a grudge against thy children, neither suffer thy sister to have her way, so that they may be purified from their former sins. For they shall be chastised with a righteous chastisement, unless thou bear a grudge against them thyself. The bearing of a grudge worketh death. But thou, Hermas, hast had great tribulations of thine own, by reason of the transgressions of thy family, because thou hadst no care for them. For thou wast neglectful of them, and wast mixed up with thine evil transactions. But herein is thy salvation, in that thou didst not depart from the living God, and in thy simplicity and thy great continence. These have saved thee, if thou abidest therein; and they save all who do such things, and walk in guilelessness

and simplicity. These men prevail over all wickedness, and continue unto life eternal. Blessed are all they that work righteousness. They shall never be destroyed. But thou shalt say to Maximus, 'Behold, tribulation cometh (upon thee), if thou think fit to deny a second time. *The Lord is nigh unto them that turn unto Him*, as it is written in Eldad and Modat, who prophesied to the people in the wilderness.' "

4. Now, brethren, a revelation was made unto me in my sleep by a youth of exceeding fair form, who said to me, "Whom thinkest thou the aged woman, from whom thou receivedst the book, to be?" I say, "The Sibyl." "Thou art wrong," saith he, "she is not." "Who then is she?" I say. "The Church," saith he. I said unto him, "Wherefore then is she aged?" "Because," saith he, "she was created before all things; therefore is she aged; and for her sake the world was framed." And afterwards I saw a vision in my house. The aged woman came, and asked me, if I had already given the book to the elders. I said that I had not given it. "Thou hast done well," she said, "for I have words to add. When then I shall have finished all the words, it shall be made known by thy means to all the elect. Thou shalt therefore write two little books, and shalt send one to Clement, and one to Grapte. So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty; while Grapte shall instruct

the widows and the orphans. But thou shalt read (the book) to this city along with the elders that preside over the Church."

VISION III

1. The third vision, which I saw, brethren, was as follows. After fasting often, and entreating the Lord to declare unto me the revelation which He promised to show me by the mouth of the aged woman, that very night the aged woman was seen of me, and she said to me, "Seeing that thou art so importunate and eager to know all things, come into the country where thou abidest, and about the fifth hour I will appear, and will show thee what thou oughtest to see." I asked her, saying, "Lady, to what part of the country?" "Where thou wilt," saith she. I selected a beautiful and retired spot; but before I spoke to her and named the spot, she saith to me, "I will come, whither thou willest." I went then, brethren, into the country, and I counted up the hours, and came to the place where I appointed her to come, and I see an ivory couch placed there, and on the couch there lay a linen cushion, and on the cushion was spread a coverlet of fine linen of flax.

When I saw these things so ordered, and no one in the place, I was amazed, and a fit of trembling seized me, and my hair stood on end; and a fit of shuddering came upon

me, because I was alone. When then I recovered myself, and remembered the glory of God, and took courage, I knelt down and confessed my sins to the Lord once more, as I had done on the former occasion.

Then she came with six young men, the same whom I had seen before, and she stood by me, and listened attentively to me, as I prayed and confessed my sins to the Lord. And she touched me, and said: "Hermas, make an end of constantly entreating for thy sins; entreat also for righteousness, that thou mayest take some part forthwith to thy family." Then she raiseth me by the hand, and leadeth me to the couch, and saith to the young men, "Go ye, and build." And after the young men had retired and we were left alone, she saith to me, "Sit down here." I say to her, "Lady, let the elders sit down first." "Do as I bid thee," saith she, "sit down." When then I wanted to sit down on the right side, she would not allow me, but beckoned me with her hand that I should sit on the left side. As then I was musing thereon, and was sad because she would not permit me to sit on the right side, she saith to me, "Art thou sad, Hermas? The place on the right side is for others, even for those who have already been well-pleasing to God, and have suffered for the Name's sake. But thou lackest much that thou shouldest sit with them; but as thou abidest in thy simplicity, even so continue, and thou shalt sit

with them, thou and as many as shall have done their deeds, and have suffered what they suffered."

2. "What did they suffer?" say I. "Listen," saith she. "Stripes, imprisonments, great tribulations, crosses, wild beasts, for the Name's sake. Therefore to them belongs the right side of the Holiness—to them, and to all who shall suffer for the Name. But for the rest is the left side. Howbeit, to both, to them that sit on the right, and to them that sit on the left, are the same gifts, and the same promises, only they sit on the right and have a certain glory. Thou indeed art very desirous to sit on the right with them, but thy shortcomings are many; yet thou shalt be purified from thy shortcomings; yea, and all that are not double-minded shall be purified from all their sins unto this day."

When she had said this, she wished to depart; but, falling at her feet, I entreated her by the Lord that she would show me the vision which she promised. Then she again took me by the hand, and raiseth me, and seateth me on the couch at the left hand, while she herself sat on the right. And lifting up a certain glistening rod, she saith to me, "Seest thou a great thing?" I say to her, "Lady, I see nothing." She saith to me, "Look thou; dost thou not see in front of thee a great tower being builded upon the waters, of glistening square stones?" Now the tower was being builded foursquare

by the six young men that came with her. And countless other men were bringing stones, some of them from the deep, and others from the land, and were handing them to the six young men. And they took them and builded. The stones that were dragged from the deep they placed in every case, just as they were, into the building, for they had been shaped, and they fitted in their joining with the other stones; and they adhered so closely one with another that their joining could not possibly be detected; and the building of the tower appeared as if it were built of one stone. But of the other stones which were brought from the dry land, some they threw away, and some they put into the building; and others they broke in pieces, and threw to a distance from the tower. Now many other stones were lying round the tower, and they did not use them for the building; for some of them were mildewed, and others had cracks in them, and others were too short, and others were white and round, and did not fit into the building. And I saw other stones thrown to a distance from the tower, and coming to the way, and yet not staying in the way, but rolling to where there was no way; and others falling into the fire and burning there; and others falling near the waters, and yet not able to roll into the water, although they desired to roll and to come to the water.

3. When she had shown me these things, she wished to hurry away. I say to her,

“Lady, what advantage is it to me to have seen these things, and yet not to know what the things mean?” She answered and said unto me, “Thou art an over-curious fellow, in desiring to know all that concerns the tower.” “Yea, lady,” I said, “that I may announce it to my brethren, and that they [may be the more gladdened and] when they hear [these things] may know the Lord in great glory.” Then said she, “Many shall hear; but when they hear, some of them shall be glad, and others shall weep. Yet even these latter, if they hear and repent, shall likewise be glad. Hear thou therefore the parables of the tower; for I will reveal all things unto thee. And trouble me no more about revelation; for these revelations have an end, seeing that they have been completed. Nevertheless thou wilt not cease asking for revelations; for thou art shameless.

“The tower, which thou seest building, is myself, the Church, which was seen of thee both now and aforetime. Ask, therefore, what thou wilt concerning the tower, and I will reveal it unto thee, that thou mayest rejoice with the saints.” I say unto her, “Lady, since thou didst hold me worthy once for all, that thou shouldest reveal all things to me, reveal them.” Then she saith to me, “Whatsoever is possible to be revealed to thee, shall be revealed. Only let thy heart be with God, and doubt not in thy mind about that which thou seest.” I asked her, “Where-

fore is the tower builded upon waters, lady? ”
“ I told thee so before,” said she, “ and indeed thou dost inquire diligently. So by thy inquiry thou discoverest the truth. Hear then why the tower is builded upon waters; it is because your life is saved and shall be saved by water. But the tower has been founded by the word of the Almighty and Glorious Name, and is strengthened by the unseen power of the Master.”

4. I answered and said unto her, “ Lady, this thing is great and marvellous. But the six young men that build, who are they, lady? ”

“ These are the holy angels of God, that were created first of all, unto whom the Lord delivered all His creation to increase and to build it, and to be masters of all creation. By their hands therefore the building of the tower will be accomplished.”
“ And who are the others who are bringing the stones? ” “ They also are holy angels of God; but these six are superior to them. The building of the tower then shall be accomplished, and all alike shall rejoice in heart (as they stand) round the tower, and shall glorify God that the building of the tower was accomplished.” I inquired of her, saying, “ Lady, I could wish to know concerning the end of the stones, and their power, of what kind it is.” She answered and said unto me, “ It is not that thou of all men art especially worthy that it should be

revealed to thee; for there are others before thee, and better than thou art, unto whom these visions ought to have been revealed. But that the name of God may be glorified, it hath been revealed to thee, and shall be revealed, for the sake of the doubtful-minded, who question in their hearts whether these things are so or not. Tell them that all these things are true, and that there is nothing beside the truth, but that all are steadfast, and valid, and established on a firm foundation.

5. "Hear now concerning the stones that go to the building. The stones that are squared and white, and that fit together in their joints, these are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons, who walked after the holiness of God, and exercised their office of bishop and teacher and deacon in purity and sanctity for the elect of God, some of them already fallen on sleep, and others still living. And because they always agreed with one another, they both had peace among themselves and listened one to another. Therefore their joinings fit together in the building of the tower." "But they that are dragged from the deep, and placed in the building, and that fit together in their joinings with the other stones that are already builded in, who are they?" "These are they that suffered for the name of the Lord." "But the other stones that are brought from the dry land, I would fain know who these

are, lady." She said, "Those that go to the building, and yet are not hewn, these the Lord hath approved because they walked in the uprightness of the Lord, and rightly performed His commandments." "But they that are brought and placed in the building, who are they?" "They are young in the faith, and faithful; but they are warned by the angels to do good, because wickedness was found in them." "But those whom they rejected and threw away, who are they?" "These have sinned, and desire to repent, therefore they were not cast to a great distance from the tower, because they will be useful for the building, if they repent. They then that shall repent, if they repent, will be strong in the faith, if they repent now while the tower is building. But if the building shall be finished, they have no more any place, but shall be castaways. This privilege only they have, that they lie near the tower.

6. "But wouldst thou know about them that are broken in pieces, and cast away far from the tower? These are the sons of lawlessness. They received the faith in hypocrisy, and no wickedness was absent from them. Therefore they have not salvation, for they are not useful for building by reason of their wickednesses. Therefore they were broken up and thrown far away by reason of the wrath of the Lord, for they excited Him to wrath. But the rest whom thou hast seen lying in great numbers, not going to the

building, of these they that are mildewed are they that knew the truth, but did not abide in it, nor cleave to the saints. Therefore they are useless."

"But they that have the cracks, who are they?" "These are they that have discord in their hearts against one another, and are not at peace among themselves; who have an appearance of peace, but when they depart from one another, their wickednesses abide in their hearts. These are the cracks which the stones have. But they that are broken off short, these have believed, and have their greater part in righteousness, but have some parts of lawlessness; therefore they are too short, and are not perfect."

"But the white and round stones, which did not fit into the building, who are they, lady?" She answered and said to me, "How long art thou foolish and stupid, and inquirest everything, and understandest nothing? These are they that have faith, but have also riches of this world. When tribulation cometh, they deny their Lord by reason of their riches and their business affairs." And I answered and said unto her, "When then, lady, will they be useful for the building?" "When," she replied, "their wealth, which leadeth their souls astray, shall be cut away, then will they be useful for God. For just as the round stone, unless it be cut away, and lose some portion of itself, cannot become square, so also they

that are rich in this world, unless their riches be cut away, cannot become useful to the Lord. Learn first from thyself. When thou hadst riches, thou wast useless; but now thou art useful and profitable unto life. Be thou useful unto God, for thou thyself also art taken from the same stones.

7. "But the other stones which thou sawest cast far away from the tower and falling into the way and rolling out of the way into the regions where there is no way, these are they that have believed, but by reason of their double heart they abandon their true way. Thus thinking that they can find a better way, they go astray and are sore distressed, as they walk about in the regions where there is no way. But they that fall into the fire and are burned, these are they that finally rebelled from the living God, and it no more entered into their hearts to repent by reason of the lusts of their wantonness and of the wickednesses which they wrought. But the others, which fall near the waters and yet cannot roll into the water, wouldest thou know who are they? These are they that heard the word, and would be baptized unto the name of the Lord. Then, when they call to their remembrance the purity of the truth, they change their minds, and go back again after their evil desires." So she finished the explanation of the tower. Still importunate, I asked her further, whether for all these stones that were rejected and would not fit

into the building of the tower there was repentance, and they had a place in this tower. "They can repent," she said, "but they cannot be fitted into this tower. Yet they shall be fitted into another place much more humble, but not until they have undergone torments, and have fulfilled the days of their sins. And they shall be changed for this reason, because they participated in the Righteous Word; and then shall it befall them to be relieved from their torments, if the evil deeds, that they have done, come into their heart; but if these come not into their heart, they are not saved by reason of the hardness of their hearts."

8. When then I ceased asking her concerning all these things, she saith to me, "Wouldest thou see something else?" Being very desirous of beholding, I was greatly rejoiced that I should see it. She looked upon me, and smiled, and she saith to me, "Seest thou seven women round the tower?" "I see them, lady," say I. "This tower is supported by them by commandment of the Lord. Hear now their employments. The first of them, the woman with the strong hands, is called Faith; through her are saved the elect of God. And the second, that is girded about and looketh like a man, is called Continence; she is the daughter of Faith. Whosoever then shall follow her, becometh happy in his life, for he shall refrain from all evil deeds, believing that, if

he refrain from every evil desire, he shall inherit eternal life." "And the others, lady, who be they?" "They are daughters one of the other. The name of the one is Simplicity, of the next, Knowledge, of the next, Guilelessness, of the next, Reverence, of the next, Love. When then thou shalt do all the works of their mother, thou canst live." "I would fain know, lady," I say, "what power each of them possesseth." "Listen then," saith she, "to the powers which they have. Their powers are mastered each by the other, and they follow each other, in the order in which they were born. From Faith is born Continenice, from Continenice Simplicity, from Simplicity Guilelessness, from Guilelessness Reverence, from Reverence Knowledge, from Knowledge Love. Their works then are pure and reverent and divine. Whosoever therefore shall serve these women, and shall have strength to master their works, shall have his dwelling in the tower with the saints of God." Then I asked her concerning the seasons, whether the consummation is even now. But she cried aloud, saying, "Foolish man, seest thou not that the tower is still a-building? Whensoever therefore the tower shall be finished building, the end cometh; but it shall be built up quickly. Ask me no more questions: this reminder is sufficient for you and for the saints, and is the renewal of your spirits. But it was not revealed to thyself alone, but

in order that thou mightest show these things unto all. After three days—for thou must understand first, and I charge thee, Hermas, first with these words, which I am about to speak to thee—(I charge thee to) tell all these things into the ears of the saints, that hearing them and doing them they may be purified from their wickednesses, and thyself also with them.

9. “Hear me, my children. I brought you up in much simplicity and guilelessness and reverence, through the mercy of the Lord, who instilled righteousness into you, that ye might be justified and sanctified from all wickedness and all crookedness. But ye will not to cease from your wickedness. Now then hear me and be at peace among yourselves, and have regard one to another, and assist one another, and do not partake of the creatures of God alone in abundance, but share them also with those that are in want. For some men through their much eating bring weakness on the flesh, and injure their flesh; whereas the flesh of those who have nought to eat is injured by their not having sufficient nourishment, and their body is ruined. This exclusiveness, therefore, is hurtful to you that have and do not share with them that are in want. Look ye to the judgment that cometh. Ye then that have more than enough, seek out them that are hungry, while the tower is still unfinished; for after the

tower is finished, ye will desire to do good, and will find no place for it. Look ye, therefore, ye that exult in your wealth, lest they that are in want shall moan, and their moaning shall go up unto the Lord, and ye with your [abundance of] good things be shut outside the door of the tower. Now, therefore, I say unto you that are rulers of the Church, and that occupy the chief seats; be not ye like unto the sorcerers. The sorcerers indeed carry their drugs in boxes, but ye carry your drug and your poison in your heart. Ye are case-hardened, and ye will not cleanse your hearts and mix your wisdom together in a clean heart, that ye may obtain mercy from the Great King. Look ye, therefore, children, lest these divisions of yours deprive you of your life. How is it that ye wish to instruct the elect of the Lord, while ye yourselves have no instruction? Instruct one another, therefore, and have peace among yourselves, that I also may stand gladsome before the Father, and give an account concerning you all to your Lord."

10. When then she ceased speaking with me, the six young men, who were building, came, and took her away to the tower, and other four lifted the couch, and took it also away to the tower. I saw not the face of these, for they were turned away. And, as she went, I asked her to reveal to me concerning the three forms, in which she had appeared to me. She answered and said to

me, "As concerning these things thou must ask another, that they may be revealed to thee." Now she was seen of me, brethren, in my first vision of last year, as a very aged woman and seated on a chair. In the second vision her face was youthful, but her flesh and her hair were aged, and she spake to me standing; and she was more gladsome than before. But in the third vision she was altogether youthful and of exceeding great beauty, and her hair alone was aged; and she was gladsome exceedingly and seated on a couch. Touching these things I was very greatly anxious to learn this revelation. And I see the aged woman in a vision of the night, saying to me, "Every inquiry needs humility. Fast, therefore, and thou shalt receive what thou askest from the Lord." So I fasted one day; and that very night there appeared unto me a young man, and he saith to me, "Seeing that thou askest me revelations offhand with entreaty, take heed lest by thy much asking thou injure thy flesh. Sufficient for thee are these revelations. Canst thou see mightier revelations than those thou hast seen?" I say unto him in reply, "Sir, this one thing alone I ask, concerning the three forms of the aged woman, that a complete revelation may be vouchsafed me." He saith to me in answer, "How long are ye without understanding? It is your double-mindedness that maketh you of no understanding, and because your heart is not set

towards the Lord." I answered and said unto him again, "From thee, Sir, we shall learn the matters more accurately."

11. "Listen," saith he, "concerning the three forms, of which thou inquirest. In the first vision wherefore did she appear to thee an aged woman and seated on a chair? Because your spirit was aged, and already decayed, and had no power by reason of your infirmities and acts of double-mindedness. For as aged people, having no longer hope of renewing their youth, expect nothing else but to fall asleep, so ye also, being weakened with the affairs of this world, gave yourselves over to repining, and cast not your cares on the Lord; but your spirit was broken, and ye were aged by your sorrows." "Wherefore then she was seated on a chair, I would fain know, Sir." "Because every weak person sits on a chair by reason of his weakness, that the weakness of his body may be supported. So thou hast the symbolism of the first vision.

12. "But in the second vision thou sawest her standing, and with her countenance more youthful and more gladsome than before; but her flesh and her hair aged. Listen to this parable also," saith he. "Imagine an old man, who has now lost all hope of himself by reason of his weakness and his poverty, and expecteth nothing else save the last day of his life. Suddenly an inheritance is left him. He heareth the

news, riseth up and full of joy clothes himself with strength, and no longer lieth down, but standeth up, and his spirit, which was now broken by reason of his former circumstances, is renewed again, and he no longer sitteth, but taketh courage; so also was it with you, when ye heard the revelation which the Lord revealed unto you. For He had compassion on you, and renewed your spirits, and ye laid aside your maladies, and strength came to you, and ye were made powerful in the faith, and the Lord rejoiced to see you put on your strength. And therefore He showed you the building of the tower; yea, and other things also shall He show you, if with your whole heart ye be at peace among yourselves.

13. "But in the third vision ye saw her younger and fair and gladsome, and her form fair. For just as when to some mourner cometh some piece of good tidings, immediately he forgetteth his former sorrows, and admitteth nothing but the tidings which he hath heard, and is strengthened thenceforth unto that which is good, and his spirit is renewed by reason of the joy which he hath received; so also ye have received a renewal of your spirits by seeing these good things. And whereas thou sawest her seated on a couch, the position is a firm one; for the couch has four feet and standeth firmly; for the world too is upheld by means of four elements. They then that have fully re-

pented shall be young again, and founded firmly, seeing that they have repented with their whole heart. There thou hast the revelation entire and complete. Thou shalt ask nothing more as touching revelation; but if anything be lacking still, it shall be revealed unto thee."

VISION IV

1. The fourth vision which I saw, brethren, twenty days after the former vision which came unto me, for a type of the impending tribulation. I was going into the country by the Campanian Way. From the high-road it is about ten stades; and the place is easy for travelling. While then I am walking alone, I entreat the Lord that He will accomplish the revelations and the visions which He showed me through His holy Church, that He may strengthen me and may give repentance to His servants which have stumbled, that His great and glorious Name may be glorified for that He held me worthy that He should show me His marvels. And as I gave glory and thanksgiving to Him, there answered me as it were the sound of a voice, "Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas." I began to question in myself and to say, "How can I be of doubtful mind, seeing that I am so firmly founded by the Lord, and have seen glorious things?" And I went on a little, brethren,

and behold, I see a cloud of dust rising as it were to heaven, and I began to say within myself, "Can it be that cattle are coming, and raising a cloud of dust?" for it was just about a stade from me. As the cloud of dust waxed greater and greater, I suspected that it was something supernatural. Then the sun shone out a little, and behold, I see a huge beast like some sea-monster, and from its mouth fiery locusts issued forth. And the beast was about a hundred feet in length, and its head was as it were of pottery. And I began to weep, and to entreat the Lord that He would rescue me from it. And I remembered the word which I had heard, "Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas." Having therefore, brethren, put on the faith of the Lord and called to mind the mighty works that He had taught me, I took courage and gave myself up to the beast. Now the beast was coming on with such a rush that it might have ruined a city. I come near it, and, huge monster as it was, it stretcheth itself on the ground, and merely put forth its tongue, and stirred not at all until I had passed by it. And the beast had on its head four colours: black, then fire and blood colour, then gold, then white.

2. Now after I had passed the beast, and had gone forward about thirty feet, behold, there meeteth me a virgin arrayed as if she were going forth from a bride-chamber, all in white and with white sandals, veiled up to her forehead, and her head-covering consisted of

a turban, and her hair was white. I knew from the former visions that it was the Church, and I became more cheerful. She saluteth me, saying, "Good-morrow, my good man"; and I saluted her in turn, "Lady, good-morrow." She answered and said unto me, "Did nothing meet thee?" I say unto her, "Lady, such a huge beast that could have destroyed whole peoples: but, by the power of the Lord and by His great mercy, I escaped it." "Thou didst escape it well," saith she, "because thou didst cast thy care upon God, and didst open thy heart to the Lord, believing that thou canst be saved by nothing else but by His great and glorious Name. Therefore the Lord sent His angel, which is over the beasts, whose name is Segri, and *shut its mouth, that it might not hurt thee*. Thou hast escaped a great tribulation by reason of thy faith, and because, though thou sawest so huge a beast, thou didst not doubt in thy mind. Go, therefore, and declare to the elect of the Lord His mighty works, and tell them that this beast is a type of the great tribulation which is to come. If, therefore, ye prepare yourselves beforehand, and repent (and turn) unto the Lord with your whole heart, ye shall be able to escape it, if your heart be made pure and without blemish, and if for the remaining days of your life ye serve the Lord blamelessly. Cast your cares upon the Lord and He will set them straight. Trust ye in the Lord, ye men of doubtful mind, for

He can do all things, yea, He both turneth away His wrath from you, and again He sendeth forth His plagues upon you that are of doubtful mind. Woe to them that hear these words and are disobedient; it were better for them that they had not been born."

3. I asked her concerning the four colours, which the beast had upon its head. Then she answered me and said, "Again thou art curious about such matters." "Yes, lady," said I, "make known unto me what these things are." "Listen," said she; "the black is this world in which ye dwell; and the fire and blood colour showeth that this world must perish by blood and fire; and the golden part are ye that have escaped from this world. For as the gold is tested by the fire and is made useful, so ye also [that dwell in it] are being tested in yourselves. Ye then that abide and pass through the fire will be purified by it. For as the gold loses its dross, so ye also shall cast away all sorrow and tribulation, and shall be purified, and shall be useful for the building of the tower. But the white portion is the coming age, in which the elect of God shall dwell; because the elect of God shall be without spot and pure unto life eternal. Wherefore cease not thou to speak in the ears of the saints. Ye have now the symbolism also of the tribulation which is coming in power. But if ye be willing, it shall be nought. Remember ye the things that are written beforehand." With these

words she departed, and I saw not in what direction she departed ; for a noise was made ; and I turned back in fear, thinking that the beast was coming.

REVELATION V

As I prayed in the house, and sat on the couch, there entered a man glorious in his visage, in the garb of a shepherd, with a white skin wrapped about him, and with a wallet on his shoulders and a staff in his hand. And he saluted me, and I saluted him in return. And he immediately sat down by my side, and he saith unto me, " I was sent by the most holy angel, that I might dwell with thee the remaining days of thy life." I thought he came to tempt me, and I say unto him, " Why, who art thou? For I know," say I, " unto whom I was delivered." He saith to me, " Dost thou not recognise me? " " No," I say. " I," saith he, " am the shepherd, unto whom thou wast delivered." While he was still speaking, his form was changed, and I recognised him as being the same, to whom I was delivered ; and straightway I was confounded, and fear seized me, and I was altogether overwhelmed with distress that I had answered him so wickedly and senselessly. But he answered and said unto me, " Be not confounded, but strengthen thyself in my commandments which I am about to command thee. For I was sent," saith he, " that

I might show thee again all the things which thou didst see before, merely the heads which are convenient for you. First of all, write down my commandments and my parables; and the other matters thou shalt write down as I shall show them to thee. The reason why," saith he, "I command thee to write down first the commandments and parables is, that thou mayest read them off-hand, and mayest be able to keep them." So I wrote down the commandments and parables, as he commanded me. If then, when ye hear them, ye keep them and walk in them, and do them with a pure heart, ye shall receive from the Lord all things that He promised you; but if, when ye hear them, ye do not repent, but still add to your sins, ye shall receive from the Lord the opposite. All these the shepherd, the angel of repentance, commanded me so to write.

MANDATE THE FIRST

"First of all, believe that God is One, even He who created all things and set them in order, and brought all things from non-existence into being, who comprehendeth all things, being alone incomprehensible. Believe Him, therefore, and fear Him, and in this fear be continent. Keep these things, and thou shalt cast off all wickedness from thyself, and shalt clothe thyself with every

excellence of righteousness, and shalt live unto God, if thou keep this commandment."

MANDATE THE SECOND

He saith to me, "Keep simplicity and be guileless, and thou shalt be as little children, that know not the wickedness which destroyeth the life of men. First of all, speak evil of no man, neither take pleasure in listening to a slanderer. Otherwise thou that hearest too shalt be responsible for the sin of him that speaketh the evil, if thou believest the slander which thou hearest; for in believing it thou thyself also wilt have a grudge against thy brother. So then shalt thou be responsible for the sin of him that speaketh the evil. Slander is evil; it is a restless demon, never at peace, but always having its home among factions. Refrain from it, therefore, and thou shalt have success at all times with all men. But clothe thyself in reverence, wherein is no evil stumbling-block, but all things are smooth and gladsome. Work that which is good, and of thy labours, which God giveth thee, give to all that are in want freely, not questioning to whom thou shalt give, and to whom thou shalt not give. Give to all; for to all God desireth that there should be given of His own bounties. They then that receive shall render an account to God why they received it, and to what end; for they that receive in distress shall not be judged, but

they that receive by false pretence shall pay the penalty. He then that giveth is guiltless ; for as he received from the Lord the ministration to perform it, he hath performed it in sincerity, by making no distinction to whom to give or not to give. This ministration then, when sincerely performed, becomes glorious in the sight of God. He therefore that ministereth thus sincerely shall live unto God. Therefore keep this commandment, as I have told thee, that thine own repentance and that of thy household may be found to be sincere, and [thy] heart pure and undefiled."

MANDATE THE THIRD

Again he saith to me, " Love truth, and let nothing but truth proceed out of thy mouth, that the Spirit which God made to dwell in this flesh, may be found true in the sight of all men ; and thus shall the Lord, who dwelleth in thee, be glorified ; for the Lord is true in every word, and with Him there is no falsehood. They, therefore, that speak lies set the Lord at nought, and become robbers of the Lord, for they do not deliver up to Him the deposit which they received. For they received of Him a spirit free from lies. This if they shall return a lying spirit, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord and have become robbers." When then I heard these things, I wept bitterly. But seeing me weep he saith, " Why weepest thou ? " " Be-

cause, Sir," say I, "I know not if I can be saved." "Why so?" saith he. "Because, Sir," I say, "never in my life spake I a true word, but I always lived deceitfully with all men and dressed up my falsehood as truth before all men; and no man ever contradicted me, but confidence was placed in my word. How then, Sir," say I, "can I live, seeing that I have done these things?" "Your supposition," he saith, "is right and true, for it behoved thee as a servant of God to walk in truth, and no complicity with evil should abide with the Spirit of truth, nor bring grief to the Spirit which is holy and true." "Never, Sir," say I, "heard I clearly words such as these." "Now then," saith he, "thou hearest. Guard them, that the former falsehoods also which thou spakest in thy business affairs may themselves become credible, now that these are found true; for they too can become trustworthy. If thou keep these things, and from henceforward speak nothing but truth, thou shalt be able to secure life for thyself. And whosoever shall hear this command, and abstain from falsehood, that most pernicious habit, shall live unto God."

MANDATE THE FOURTH

I. "I charge thee," saith he, "to keep purity, and let not a thought enter into thy heart concerning another's wife, or concerning

fornication, or concerning any such like evil deeds ; for in so doing thou committest a great sin. But remember thine own wife always, and thou shalt never go wrong. For should this desire enter into thine heart, thou wilt go wrong, and should any other as evil as this, thou committest sin. For this desire in a servant of God is a great sin ; and if any man doeth this evil deed, he worketh out death for himself. Look to it, therefore. Abstain from this desire ; for, where holiness dwelleth, there lawlessness ought not to enter into the heart of a righteous man." I say to him, " Sir, permit me to ask thee a few more questions." " Say on," saith he. " Sir," say I, " if a man who has a wife that is faithful in the Lord detect her in adultery, doth the husband sin in living with her? " " So long as he is ignorant," saith he, " he sinneth not ; but if the husband know of her sin, and the wife repent not, but continue in her fornication, and her husband live with her, he makes himself responsible for her sin and an accomplice in her adultery." " What then, Sir," say I, " shall the husband do, if the wife continue in this case? " " Let him divorce her," saith he, " and let the husband abide alone : but if after divorcing his wife he shall marry another, he likewise committeth adultery." " If then, Sir," say I, " after the wife is divorced, she repent and desire to return to her own husband, shall she not be received? " " Certainly," saith he, " if the

husband receiveth her not, he sinneth and bringeth great sin upon himself; nay, one who hath sinned and repented must be received, yet not often; for there is but one repentance for the servants of God. For the sake of her repentance, therefore, the husband ought not to marry. This is the manner of acting enjoined on husband and wife. Not only," saith he, "is it adultery, if a man pollute his flesh, but whosoever doeth things like unto the heathen committeth adultery. If, therefore, in such deeds as these likewise a man continue and repent not, keep away from him, and live not with him. Otherwise, thou also art a partaker of his sin. For this cause ye were enjoined to remain single, whether husband or wife; for in such cases repentance is possible. I," said he, "am not giving an excuse that this matter should be concluded thus, but to the end that the sinner should sin no more. But as concerning his former sin, there is One who is able to give healing; it is He who hath authority over all things."

2. I asked him again, saying, "Seeing that the Lord held me worthy that thou shouldest always dwell with me, suffer me still to say a few words, since I understand nothing, and my heart has been made dense by my former deeds. Make me to understand, for I am very foolish, and I apprehend absolutely nothing." He answered and said unto me, "I," saith he, "preside over repentance, and I give understanding to all who repent. Nay, thinkest

thou not," saith he, "that this very act of repentance is understanding? To repent is great understanding," saith he. "For the man that hath sinned understandeth that he hath done evil before the Lord, and the deed which he hath done entereth into his heart, and he repenteth, and doeth no more evil, but doeth good lavishly, and humbleth his own soul and putteth it to torture because it sinned. Thou seest then that repentance is great understanding." "It is on this account therefore, Sir," say I, "that I inquire everything accurately of thee; first, because I am a sinner; secondly, because I know not what deeds I must do that I may live, for my sins are many and various." "Thou shalt live," saith he, "if thou keep my commandments and walk in them; and whosoever shall hear these commandments and keep them, shall live unto God."

3. "I will still proceed, Sir," say I, "to ask a further question." "Speak on," saith he. "I have heard, Sir," say I, "from certain teachers, that there is no other repentance, save that which took place when we went down into the water and obtained remission of our former sins." He saith to me; "Thou hast well heard; for so it is. For he that hath received remission of sins ought no longer to sin, but to dwell in purity. But, since thou inquirest all things accurately, I will declare unto thee this also, so as to give no excuse to those who shall hereafter believe,

or those who have already believed, on the Lord. For they that have already believed, or shall hereafter believe, have not repentance for sins, but have only remission of their former sins. To those then that were called before these days the Lord has appointed repentance. For the Lord, being a discernor of hearts and foreknowing all things, perceived the weakness of men and the manifold wiles of the devil, how that he will be doing some mischief to the servants of God, and will deal wickedly with them. The Lord then, being very compassionate, had pity on His handiwork, and appointed this (opportunity of) repentance, and to me was given the authority over this repentance. But I say unto you," saith he, "if after this great and holy calling anyone, being tempted of the devil, shall commit sin, he hath only one (opportunity of) repentance. But if he sin off-hand and repent, repentance is unprofitable for such a man; for he shall live with difficulty." I say unto him, "I was quickened into life again, when I heard these things from thee so precisely. For I know that, if I shall add no more to my sins, I shall be saved." "Thou shalt be saved," he saith, "thou and all, as many as shall do these things."

4. I asked him again, saying, "Sir, since once thou dost bear with me, declare unto me this further matter also." "Say on," saith he. "If a wife, Sir," say I, "or, it may be,

a husband fall asleep, and one of them marry, doth the one that marrieth sin?" "He sinneth not," saith he, "but if he remain single, he investeth himself with more exceeding honour and with great glory before the Lord; yet even if he should marry, he sinneth not. Preserve purity and holiness, therefore, and thou shalt live unto God. All these things, which I speak and shall hereafter speak unto thee, guard from this time forward, from the day when thou wast committed unto me, and I will dwell in thy house. But for thy former transgressions there shall be remission, if thou keepest my commandments. Yea, and all shall have remission, if they keep these my commandments, and walk in this purity."

MANDATE THE FIFTH

1. "Be thou long-suffering and understanding," he saith, "and thou shalt have the mastery over all evil deeds, and shalt work all righteousness. For if thou art long-suffering, the Holy Spirit that abideth in thee shall be pure, not being darkened by another evil spirit, but dwelling in a large room shall rejoice and be glad with the vessel in which he dwelleth, and shall serve God with much cheerfulness, having prosperity in himself. But if any angry temper approach, forthwith the Holy Spirit, being delicate, is straitened, not having [the] place clear, and seeketh to retire

from the place; for he is being choked by the evil spirit, and has no room to minister unto the Lord, as he desireth, being polluted by angry temper. For the Lord dwelleth in long-suffering, but the devil in angry temper. Thus that both the spirits then should be dwelling together is inconvenient and evil for that man in whom they dwell. For if you take a little wormwood, and pour it into a jar of honey, is not the whole of the honey spoiled, and all that honey ruined by a very small quantity of wormwood? For it destroyeth the sweetness of the honey, and it no longer hath the same attraction for the owner, because it is rendered bitter and hath lost its use. But if the wormwood be not put into the honey, the honey is found sweet and becomes useful to its owner. Thou seest [then] that long-suffering is very sweet, beyond the sweetness of honey, and is useful to the Lord, and He dwelleth in it. But angry temper is bitter and useless. If then angry temper be mixed with long-suffering, long-suffering is polluted and the man's intercession is no longer useful to God." "I would fain know, Sir," say I, "the working of angry temper, that I may guard myself from it." "Yea, verily," saith he, "if thou guard not thyself from it—thou and thy family—thou hast lost all thy hope. But guard thyself from it; for I am with thee. Yea, and all men shall hold aloof from it, as many as have repented with their whole heart. For I will be with them

and will preserve them; for they all were justified by the most holy angel.

2. "Hear now," saith he, "the working of angry temper, how evil it is, and how it subverteth the servants of God by its own working, and how it leadeth them astray from righteousness. But it doth not lead astray them that are full in the faith, nor can it work upon them, because the power of the Lord is with them; but them that are empty and double-minded it leadeth astray. For when it seeth such men in prosperity it insinuates itself into the heart of the man, and for no cause whatever the man or the woman is embittered on account of worldly matters, either about meats, or some triviality, or about some friend, or about giving or receiving, or about follies of this kind. For all these things are foolish and vain and senseless and inexpedient for the servants of God. But long-suffering is great and strong, and has a mighty and vigorous power, and is prosperous in great enlargement, gladsome, exultant, free from care, glorifying the Lord at every season, having no bitterness in itself, remaining always gentle and tranquil. This long-suffering, therefore, dwelleth with those whose faith is perfect. But angry temper is in the first place foolish, fickle and senseless; then from foolishness is engendered bitterness, and from bitterness wrath, and from wrath anger, and from anger spite; then spite being composed of all these evil elements

becometh a great sin and incurable. For when all these spirits dwell in one vessel. where the Holy Spirit also dwelleth, that vessel cannot contain them, but overfloweth. The delicate spirit, therefore, as not being accustomed to dwell with an evil spirit nor with harshness, departeth from a man of that kind, and seeketh to dwell with gentleness and tranquillity. Then, when it hath removed from that man, in whom it dwells, that man becometh emptied of the righteous spirit, and henceforward, being filled with the evil spirits, he is unstable in all his actions, being dragged about hither and thither by the evil spirits, and is altogether blinded and bereft of his good intent. Thus then it happeneth to all persons of angry temper. Refrain, therefore, from angry temper, the most evil of evil spirits. But clothe thyself in long-suffering, and resist angry temper and bitterness, and thou shalt be found in company with the holiness which is beloved of the Lord. See then that thou never neglect this commandment; for if thou master this commandment, thou shalt be able likewise to keep the remaining commandments, which I am about to give thee. Be strong in them and endowed with power; and let all be endowed with power, as many as desire to walk in them."

MANDATE THE SIXTH

1. "I charged thee," saith he, "in my first commandment to guard faith and fear and temperance." "Yes, Sir," say I. "But now," saith he, "I wish to show thee their powers also, that thou mayest understand what is the power and effect of each one of them. For their effects are twofold. Now they are prescribed alike to the righteous and the unrighteous. Do thou, therefore, trust righteousness, but trust not unrighteousness; for the way of righteousness is straight, but the way of unrighteousness is crooked. But walk thou in the straight [and level] path, and leave the crooked one alone. For the crooked way has no tracks, but only pathlessness and many stumbling-stones, and is rough and thorny. So it is, therefore, harmful to those who walk in it. But those who walk in the straight way walk on the level and without stumbling: for it is neither rough nor thorny. Thou seeest then that it is more expedient to walk in this way." "I am pleased, Sir," say I, "to walk in this way." "Thou shalt walk," he saith, "yea, and whosoever shall turn unto the Lord with his whole heart shall walk in it.

2. "Hear now," saith he, "concerning faith. There are two angels with a man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness." "How then, Sir," say I, "shall I know their workings, seeing that both angels dwell with

me? ” “Hear,” saith he, “and understand their workings. The angel of righteousness is delicate and bashful and gentle and tranquil. When then this one enters into thy heart, forthwith he speaketh with thee of righteousness, of purity, of holiness, and of contentment, of every righteous deed and of every glorious virtue. When all these things enter into thy heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with thee. [These then are the works of the angel of righteousness.] Trust him, therefore, and his works. Now see the works of the angel of wickedness also. First of all, he is quick-tempered and bitter and senseless, and his works are evil, overthrowing the servants of God. Whenever then he entereth into thy heart, know him by his works.” “How I shall discern him, Sir,” I reply, “I know not.” “Listen,” saith he. “When a fit of angry temper or bitterness comes upon thee, know that he is in thee. Then the desire of much business and the costliness of many viands and drinking bouts and of many drunken fits and of various luxuries which are unseemly, and the desire of women, and avarice, and haughtiness and boastfulness, and whatsoever things are akin and like to these—when then these things enter into thy heart, know that the angel of wickedness is with thee. Do thou, therefore, recognising his works, stand aloof from him, and trust him in nothing, for his works are evil and inexpedient for the servants of God.

Here then thou hast the workings of both the angels. Understand them, and trust the angel of righteousness. But from the angel of wickedness stand aloof, for his teaching is evil in every matter; for though one be a man of faith, and the desire of this angel enter into his heart, that man, or that woman, must commit some sin. And if again a man or a woman be exceedingly wicked, and the works of the angel of righteousness come into that man's heart, he must of necessity do something good. Thou seest then," saith he, "that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, and to bid farewell to the angel of wickedness. This commandment declareth what concerneth faith, that thou mayest trust the works of the angel of righteousness, and doing them mayest live unto God. But believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are difficult; so by not doing them thou shalt live unto God."

MANDATE THE SEVENTH

"Fear the Lord," saith he, "and keep His commandments. So keeping the commandments of God thou shalt be powerful in every deed, and thy doing shall be incomparable. For whilst thou fearest the Lord, thou shalt do all things well. But this is the fear where-with thou oughtest to be afraid, and thou shalt be saved. But fear not the devil; for, if thou fear the Lord, thou shalt be master

over the devil, for there is no power in him. [For] in whom is no power, neither is there fear of him; but in whom power is glorious, of him is fear likewise. For everyone that hath power hath fear, whereas he that hath no power is despised of all. But fear thou the works of the devil, for they are evil. While then thou fearest the Lord, thou wilt fear the works of the devil, and wilt not do them, but abstain from them. Fear, therefore, is of two kinds. If thou desire to do evil, fear the Lord, and thou shalt not do it. If again thou desire to do good, fear the Lord and thou shalt do it. Therefore the fear of the Lord is powerful and great and glorious. Fear the Lord then, and thou shalt live unto Him; yea, and as many of them that keep His commandments as shall fear Him, shall live unto God.” “Wherefore, Sir,” say I, “didst thou say concerning those that keep His commandments, ‘They shall live unto God’?” “Because,” saith he, “every creature feareth the Lord, but not everyone keepeth His commandments. Those then that fear Him and keep His commandments, they have life unto God; but they that keep not His commandments have no life in them.”

MANDATE THE EIGHTH

“I told thee,” saith he, “that the creatures of God are twofold; for temperance also is twofold. For in some things it is right to be

temperate, but in other things it is not right.” “Make known unto me, Sir,” say I, “in what things it is right to be temperate, and in what things it is not right.” “Listen,” saith he. “Be temperate as to what is evil, and do it not; but be not temperate as to what is good, but do it. For if thou be temperate as to what is good, so as not to do it, thou committest a great sin; but if thou be temperate as to what is evil, so as not to do it, thou doest great righteousness. Be temperate, therefore, in abstaining from all wickedness, and do that which is good.” “What kinds of wickedness, Sir,” say I, “are they from which we must be temperate and abstain?” “Listen,” saith he; “from adultery and fornication, from the lawlessness of drunkenness, from wicked luxury, from many viands and the costliness of riches, and vaunting and haughtiness and pride, and from falsehood and evil-speaking and hypocrisy, malice and all blasphemy. These works are the most wicked of all in the life of men. From these works, therefore, the servant of God must be temperate and abstain; for he that is not temperate so as to abstain from these cannot live unto God. Listen then to what follows upon these.” “Why, are there still other evil deeds, Sir?” say I. “Aye,” saith he, “there are many, from which the servant of God must be temperate and abstain; theft, falsehood, deprivation, false witness, avarice, evil desire, deceit, vain-glory, boast-

fulness, and whatsoever things are like unto these. Thinkest thou not that these things are wrong, yea, very wrong," [saith he,] "for the servants of God? In all these things he that serveth God must exercise temperance. Be thou temperate, therefore, and refrain from all these things, that thou mayest live unto God, and be enrolled among those who exercise self-restraint in them. These then are the things from which thou shouldest restrain thyself. Now hear," saith he, "the things in which thou shouldest not exercise self-restraint, but do them. Exercise no self-restraint in that which is good, but do it." "Sir," say I, "show me the power of the good also, that I may walk in them and serve them, that doing them it may be possible for me to be saved." "Hear," saith he, "the works of the good likewise, which thou must do, and towards which thou must exercise no self-restraint. First of all, there is faith, fear of the Lord, love, concord, words of righteousness, truth, patience; nothing is better than these in the life of men. If a man keep these, and exercise not self-restraint from them, he becomes blessed in his life. Hear now what follow upon these; to minister to widows, to visit the orphans and the needy, to ransom the servants of God from their afflictions, to be hospitable (for in hospitality benevolence from time to time has a place), to resist no man, to be tranquil, to show yourself more submissive

than all men, to reverence the aged, to practise righteousness, to observe brotherly feeling, to endure injury, to be long-suffering, to bear no grudge, to exhort those who are sick at soul, not to cast away those that have stumbled from the faith, but to convert them and to put courage into them, to reprove sinners, not to oppress debtors and indigent persons, and whatsoever actions are like these. Do these things," saith he, "seem to thee to be good?" "Why, what, Sir," say I, "can be better than these?" "Then walk in them," saith he, "and abstain not from them, and thou shalt live unto God. Keep this commandment, therefore. If thou do good and abstain not from it, thou shalt live unto God; yea, and all shall live unto God who act so. And again if thou do not evil, and abstain from it, thou shalt live unto God; yea, and all shall live unto God, who shall keep these commandments, and walk in them."

MANDATE THE NINTH

He saith to me; "Remove from thyself a doubtful mind and doubt not at all whether to ask of God, saying within thyself, "How can I ask a thing of the Lord and receive it, seeing that I have committed so many sins against Him?" Reason not thus, but turn to the Lord with thy whole heart, and ask of Him nothing wavering, and thou shalt know

His exceeding compassion, that He will surely not abandon thee, but will fulfil the petition of thy soul. For God is not as men who bear a grudge, but Himself is without malice and hath compassion on His creatures. Do thou, therefore, cleanse thy heart from all the vanities of this life, and from the things mentioned before; and ask of the Lord, and thou shalt receive all things, and shalt lack nothing of all thy petitions, if thou ask of the Lord nothing wavering. But if thou waver in thy heart, thou shalt surely receive none of thy petitions. For they that waver towards God, these are the doubtful-minded, and they never obtain any of their petitions. But they that are complete in the faith make all their petitions trusting in the Lord, and they receive, because they ask without wavering, nothing doubting; for every doubtful-minded man, if he repent not, shall hardly be saved. Cleanse, therefore, thy heart from doubtful-mindedness, and put on faith, for it is strong, and trust God that thou wilt receive all thy petitions which thou askest; and if after asking anything of the Lord, thou receive thy petition somewhat tardily, be not of doubtful mind because thou didst not receive the petition of thy soul at once. For assuredly it is by reason of some temptation or some transgression, of which thou art ignorant, that thou receivest thy petition so tardily. Do thou, therefore, cease not to make thy soul's petition, and thou shalt receive

it. But if thou grow weary, and doubt as thou askest, blame thyself and not Him that giveth unto thee. See to this doubtful-mindedness; for it is evil and senseless, and uprooteth many from the faith, yea, even very faithful and strong men. For indeed this doubtful-mindedness is a daughter of the devil, and worketh great wickedness against the servants of God. Therefore despise doubtful-mindedness and gain the mastery over it in everything, clothing thyself with faith which is strong and powerful. For faith promiseth all things, accomplisheth all things; but doubtful-mindedness, as having no confidence in itself, fails in all the works which it doeth. Thou seest then," saith he, "that faith is from above from the Lord, and hath great power; but doubtful-mindedness is an earthly spirit from the devil, and hath no power. Do thou, therefore, serve that faith which hath power, and hold aloof from the doubtful-mindedness which hath no power; and thou shalt live unto God; yea, and all those shall live unto God who are so minded."

MANDATE THE TENTH

I. "Put away sorrow from thyself," saith he, "for she is the sister of doubtful-mindedness and of angry temper." "How, Sir," say I, "is she the sister of these? For angry temper seems to me to be one thing, doubtful-

mindfulness another, sorrow another.”
“Thou art a foolish fellow,” saith he, “[and] perceivest not that sorrow is more evil than all the spirits, and is most fatal to the servants of God, and beyond all the spirits destroys a man, and crushes out the Holy Spirit, and yet again saves it.” “I, Sir,” say I, “am without understanding, and I understand not these parables. For how it can crush out and again save, I do not comprehend.”
“Listen,” saith he. “Those who have never investigated concerning the truth, nor inquired concerning the deity, but have merely believed, and have been mixed up in business affairs and riches and heathen friendships, and many other affairs of this world—as many, I say, as devote themselves to these things, comprehend not the parables of the deity; for they are darkened by these actions, and are corrupted and become barren. As good vineyards, when they are treated with neglect, are made barren by the thorns and weeds of various kinds, so men who after they have believed fall into these many occupations which were mentioned before, lose their understanding and comprehend nothing at all concerning righteousness; for if they hear concerning the deity and truth, their mind is absorbed in their occupations, and they perceive nothing at all. But they that have the fear of God, and investigate concerning deity and truth, and direct their heart towards the Lord, perceive and understand everything

that is said to them more quickly, because they have the fear of the Lord in themselves; for where the Lord dwelleth, there too is great understanding. Cleave, therefore, unto the Lord, and thou shalt understand and perceive all things.

2. "Hear now, senseless man," saith he, "how sorrow crusheth out the Holy Spirit, and again saveth it. When the man of doubtful mind sets his hand to any action, and fails in it owing to his doubtful-mindedness, grief at this entereth into the man, and grieveth the Holy Spirit, and crusheth it out. Then again when angry temper cleaveth to a man concerning any matter, and he is much embittered, again sorrow entereth into the heart of the man that was ill-tempered, and he is grieved at the deed which he hath done, and repenteth that he did evil. This sadness, therefore, seemeth to bring salvation, because he repented at having done the evil. So both the operations sadden the Spirit; first, the doubtful mind saddens the Spirit, because it succeeded not in its business, and the angry temper again, because it did what was evil. Thus both are saddening to the Holy Spirit, the doubtful mind and the angry temper. Put away, therefore, from thyself sadness, and afflict not the Holy Spirit that dwelleth in thee, lest haply He intercede with God [against thee], and depart from thee. For the Spirit of God, that was given unto this flesh, endureth not sadness neither constraint.

3. "Therefore clothe thyself in cheerfulness, which hath favour with God always, and is acceptable to Him, and rejoice in it. For every cheerful man worketh good and thinketh good, and despiseth sadness; but the sad man is always committing sin. In the first place he committeth sin because he grieveth the Holy Spirit, which was given to the man being a cheerful spirit; and in the second place, by grieving the Holy Spirit he doeth lawlessness, in that he doth not intercede with, neither confess unto, God. For the intercession of a sad man hath never at any time power to ascend to the altar of God." "Wherefore," say I, "doth not the intercession of him that is saddened ascend to the altar?" "Because," saith he, "sadness is seated at his heart. Thus sadness mingled with the intercession doth not suffer the intercession to ascend pure to the altar. For as vinegar when mingled with wine in the same (vessel) hath not the same pleasant taste, so likewise sadness mingled with the Holy Spirit hath not the same intercession. Therefore cleanse thyself from this wicked sadness, and thou shalt live unto God; yea, and all they shall live unto God, who shall cast away sadness from themselves and clothe themselves in all cheerfulness."

MANDATE THE ELEVENTH

He showed me men seated on a couch, and another man seated on a chair. And he saith to me, "Seest thou those that are seated on the couch?" "I see them, Sir," say I. "These," saith he, "are faithful, but he that sitteth on the chair is a false prophet who destroyeth the mind of the servants of God—I mean, of the doubtful-minded, not of the faithful. These doubtful-minded ones then come to him as to a soothsayer and inquire of him what shall befall them. And he, the false prophet, having no power of a divine Spirit in himself, speaketh with them according to their inquiries [and according to the lusts of their wickedness], and filleth their souls as they themselves wish. For being empty himself he giveth empty answers to empty inquirers; for whatever inquiry may be made of him, he answereth according to the emptiness of the man. But he speaketh also some true words; for the devil filleth him with his own spirit, if so be he shall be able to break down some of the righteous. So many, therefore, as are strong in the faith of the Lord, clothed with the truth, cleave not to such spirits, but hold aloof from them; but as many as are doubters and frequently change their minds, practise soothsaying like the Gentiles, and bring upon themselves greater sin by their idolatries. For he that consulteth a false prophet on any matter is an

idolater and emptied of the truth, and senseless. For no Spirit given of God needeth to be consulted; but, having the power of deity, speaketh all things of itself, because it is from above, even from the power of the divine Spirit. But the spirit which is consulted, and speaketh according to the desires of men, is earthly and fickle, having no power; and it speaketh not at all, unless it be consulted."

"How then, Sir," say I, "shall a man know who of them is a prophet, and who a false prophet?" "Hear," saith he, "concerning both the prophets; and, as I shall tell thee, so shalt thou test the prophet and the false prophet. By his life test the man that hath the divine Spirit. In the first place, he that hath the [divine] Spirit, which is from above, is gentle and tranquil and humble-minded, and abstaineth from all wickedness and vain desire of this present world, and holdeth himself inferior to all men, and giveth no answer to any man when inquired of, nor speaketh in solitude (for neither doth the Holy Spirit speak when a man wisheth Him to speak); but the man speaketh then when God wisheth him to speak. When then the man who hath the divine Spirit cometh into an assembly of righteous men, who have faith in a divine Spirit, and intercession is made to God by the gathering of those men, then the angel of the prophetic spirit, who is attached to him, filleth the man, and the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaketh to the multitude,

according as the Lord willeth. In this way then the Spirit of the deity shall be manifest. This then is the greatness of the power as touching the Spirit of the deity of the Lord. Hear now," saith he, "concerning the earthly and vain spirit, which hath no power but is foolish. In the first place, that man who seemeth to have a spirit exalteth himself, and desireth to have a chief place, and straightway he is impudent and shameless and talkative and conversant in many luxuries and in many other deceits, and receiveth money for his prophesying, and if he receiveth not, he prophesieth not. Now can a divine Spirit receive money and prophesy? It is not possible for a prophet of God to do this, but the spirit of such prophets is earthly. In the next place, it never approacheth an assembly of righteous men; but avoideth them, and cleaveth to the doubtful-minded and empty, and prophesieth to them in corners, and deceiveth them, speaking all things in emptiness to gratify their desires; for they too are empty whom it answereth. For the empty vessel placed together with the empty is not broken, but they agree one with the other. But when he comes into an assembly full of righteous men who have a Spirit of deity, and intercession is made from them, that man is emptied, and the earthly spirit fleeth from him in fear, and that man is struck dumb—and is altogether broken in pieces, being unable to utter a word. For, if

you pack wine or oil into a closet, and place an empty vessel among them, and again desire to unpack the closet, the vessel which you placed there empty, empty in like manner you will find it. Thus also the empty prophets, whenever they come unto the spirits of righteous men, are found just such as they came. I have given thee the life of both kinds of prophets. Therefore test, by his life and his works, the man who says that he is moved by the Spirit. But do thou trust the Spirit that cometh from God, and hath power; but in the earthly and empty spirit put no trust at all; for in it there is no power, for it cometh from the devil. Listen [then] to the parable which I shall tell thee. Take a stone, and throw it up to heaven—see if thou canst reach it; or again, take a squirt of water, and squirt it up to heaven—see if thou canst bore through the heaven.” “How, Sir,” say I, “can these things be? For both these things which thou hast mentioned are beyond our power.” “Well then,” saith he, “just as these things are beyond our power, so likewise the earthly spirits have no power and are feeble. Now take the power which cometh from above. The hail is a very small grain, and yet, when it falleth on a man’s head, what pain it causeth! Or again, take a drop which falls on the ground from the tiles, and bores through the stone. Thou seest then that the smallest things from above falling on the earth have great power. So likewise the

divine Spirit coming from above is powerful. This Spirit, therefore, trust, but from the other hold aloof."

MANDATE THE TWELFTH

1. He saith to me ; " Remove from thyself all evil desire, and clothe thyself in the desire which is good and holy ; for clothed with this desire thou shalt hate the evil desire, and shalt bridle and direct it as thou wilt. For the evil desire is wild, and only tamed with difficulty ; for it is terrible, and by its wildness is very costly to men ; more especially if a servant of God get entangled in it, and have no understanding, he is put to fearful costs by it. But it is costly to such men as are not clothed in the good desire, but are mixed up with this life. These men then it hands over to death." " Of what sort, Sir," say I, " are the works of the evil desire, which hand over men to death ? Make them known to me, that I may hold aloof from them." " Listen," [saith he,] " through what works the evil desire bringeth death to the servants of God.

2. " Before all is desire for the wife or husband of another, and for extravagance of wealth, and for many needless dainties, and for drinks and other luxuries, many and foolish. For every luxury is foolish and vain for the servants of God. These desires then are evil, and bring death to the servants of God. For

this evil desire is a daughter of the devil. Ye must, therefore, abstain from the evil desires, that so abstaining ye may live unto God. But as many as are mastered by them, and resist them not, are done to death utterly; for these desires are deadly. But do thou clothe thyself in the desire of righteousness, and, having armed thyself with the fear of the Lord, resist them. For the fear of God dwelleth in the good desire. If the evil desire shall see thee armed with the fear of God and resisting itself, it shall flee far from thee, and shall no more be seen of thee, being in fear of thine arms. Do thou, therefore, when thou art crowned for thy victory over it, come to the desire of righteousness, and deliver to her the victor's prize which thou hast received, and serve her, according as she herself desireth. If thou serve the good desire, and art subject to her, thou shalt have power to master the evil desire, and to subject her, according as thou wilt."

3. "I would fain know, Sir," say I, "in what ways I ought to serve the good desire." "Listen," saith he; "practise righteousness and virtue, truth and the fear of the Lord, faith and gentleness, and as many good deeds as are like these. Practising these thou shalt be well-pleasing as a servant of God, and shalt live unto Him; yea, and everyone who shall serve the good desire shall live unto God."

So he completed the twelve commandments, and he saith to me, "Thou hast these

commandments; walk in them, and exhort thy hearers that their repentance may become pure for the rest of the days of their life. This ministration, which I give thee, fulfil thou with all diligence to the end, and thou shalt effect much. For thou shalt find favour among those who are about to repent, and they shall obey thy words. For I will be with thee, and will compel them to obey thee."

I say to him, "Sir, these commandments are great and beautiful and glorious, and are able to *gladden the heart of the man* who is able to observe them. But I know not whether these commandments can be kept by a man, for they are very hard." He answered and said unto me, "If thou set it before thyself that they can be kept, thou wilt easily keep them, and they will not be hard; but if it once enter into the heart that they cannot be kept by a man, thou wilt not keep them. But now I say unto thee, if thou keep them not, but neglect them, thou shalt not have salvation, neither thy children nor thy household, since thou hast already pronounced judgment against thyself that these commandments cannot be kept by a man."

4. And these things he said to me very angrily, so that I was confounded, and feared him exceedingly; for his form was changed, so that a man could not endure his anger. And when he saw that I was altogether disturbed and confounded, he began to speak more kindly [and cheerfully] to me, and he saith,

“ Foolish fellow, void of understanding and of doubtful mind, perceivest thou not the glory of God, how great and mighty and marvellous it is, how that He created the world for man’s sake, and subjected all His creation to man, and gave all authority to him, that he should be master over all things under the heaven? If then,” [he saith,] “ man is lord of all the creatures of God and mastereth all things, cannot he also master these commandments? Aye,” saith he, “ the man that hath the Lord in his heart can master [all things and] all these commandments. But they that have the Lord on their lips, while their heart is hardened, and are far from the Lord, to them these commandments are hard and inaccessible. Therefore do ye, who are empty and fickle in the faith, set your Lord in your heart, and ye shall perceive that nothing is easier than these commandments, nor sweeter, nor more gentle. Be ye converted, ye that walk after the commandments of the devil, (the commandments which are so) difficult and bitter and wild and riotous; and fear not the devil, for there is no power in him against you. For I will be with you, I, the angel of repentance, who have the mastery over him. The devil hath fear alone, but his fear hath no force. Fear him not, therefore; and he will flee from you.”

5. I say to him, “ Sir, listen to a few words from me.” “ Say what thou wilt,” saith he. “ Man, Sir,” I say, “ is eager to keep the com-

mandments of God, and there is no one that asketh not of the Lord, that he may be strengthened in His commandments, and be subject to them; but the devil is hard and overmastereth them." "He cannot," saith he, "overmaster the servants of God, who set their hope on Him with their whole heart. The devil can wrestle with them, but he cannot overthrow them. If then ye resist him, he will be vanquished, and will flee from you disgraced. But as many," saith he, "as are utterly empty, fear the devil as if he had power. When a man has filled amply sufficient jars with good wine, and among these jars a few are quite empty, he comes to the jars, and does not examine the full ones, for he knows that they are full; but he examineth the empty ones, fearing lest they have turned sour. For empty jars soon turn sour, and the taste of the wine is spoilt. So also the devil cometh to all the servants of God tempting them. As many then as are complete in the faith, oppose him mightily, and he departeth from them, not having a place where he can find an entrance. So he cometh next to the empty ones, and finding a place goeth into them, and further he doeth what he willeth in them, and they become submissive slaves to him.

6. "But I, the angel of repentance, say unto you, Fear not the devil; for I was sent," saith he, "to be with you who repent with your whole heart, and to strengthen you in

the faith. Believe, therefore, on God, ye who by reason of your sins have despaired of your life, and are adding to your sins, and weighing down your life; for if ye turn unto the Lord with your whole heart, and work righteousness the remaining days of your life, and serve Him rightly according to His will, He will give healing to your former sins, and ye shall have power to master the works of the devil. But of the threatening of the devil fear not at all; for he is unstrung, like the sinews of a dead man. Hear me, therefore, and fear Him, *who is able* to do all things, *to save and to destroy*, and observe these commandments, and ye shall live unto God." I say to him, "Sir, now am I strengthened in all the ordinances of the Lord, because thou art with me; and I know that thou wilt crush all the power of the devil, and we shall be masters over him, and shall prevail over all his works. And I hope, Sir, that I am now able to keep these commandments which thou hast commanded, the Lord enabling me." "Thou shalt keep them," saith he, "if thy heart be found pure with the Lord; yea, and all shall keep them, as many as shall purify their hearts from the vain desires of this world, and shall live unto God."

PARABLES WHICH HE SPAKE WITH ME

He saith to me, "Ye know that ye, who are servants of God, are dwelling in a foreign

land; for your city is far from this city. If then ye know your city, in which ye shall dwell, why do ye here prepare fields and expensive displays and buildings and dwelling-chambers which are superfluous? He, therefore, that prepareth these things for this city does not purpose to return to his own city. O foolish and double-minded and miserable man, perceivest thou not that all these things are foreign, and are under the power of another? For the lord of this city shall say, 'I do not wish thee to dwell in my city; go forth from this city, for thou dost not conform to my laws.' Thou, therefore, who hast fields and dwellings and many other possessions, when thou art cast out by him, what wilt thou do with thy field and thy house and all the other things that thou preparedst for thyself? For the lord of this country saith to thee justly, 'Either conform to my laws, or depart from my country.' What then shalt thou do, who art under law in thine own city? For the sake of thy fields and the rest of thy possessions wilt thou altogether repudiate thy law, and walk according to the law of this city? Take heed, lest it be inexpedient to repudiate thy law; for if thou shouldest desire to return again to thy city, thou shalt surely not be received [because thou didst repudiate the law of thy city], and shalt be shut out from it. Take heed, therefore; as dwelling in a strange land prepare nothing more for thyself but a competency which is

sufficient for thee, and make ready that, whensoever the master of this city may desire to cast thee out for thine opposition to his law, thou mayest go forth from his city and depart into thine own city, and use thine own law joyfully, free from all insult. Take heed, therefore, ye that serve God and have Him in your heart : work the works of God being mindful of His commandments and of the promises which He made, and believe Him that He will perform them, if His commandments be kept. Therefore, instead of fields buy ye souls that are in trouble, as each is able, and visit widows and orphans, and neglect them not ; and spend your riches and all your displays, which ye received from God, on fields and houses of this kind. For to this end the Master enriched you, that ye might perform these ministrations for Him. It is much better to purchase fields [and possessions] and houses of this kind, which thou wilt find in thine own city, when thou visitest it. This lavish expenditure is beautiful and joyous, not bringing sadness or fear, but bringing joy. The expenditure of the heathen then practise not ye ; for it is not convenient for you the servants of God. But practise your own expenditure, in which ye can rejoice ; and do not corrupt, neither touch that which is another man's, nor lust after it ; for it is wicked to lust after other men's possessions. But perform thine own task, and thou shalt be saved."

ANOTHER PARABLE

As I walked in the field, and noticed an elm and a vine, and was distinguishing them and their fruits, the shepherd appeareth to me and saith, "What art thou meditating within thyself?" "I am thinking, [Sir,]" say I, "about the elm and the vine, that they are excellently suited the one to the other." "These two trees," saith he, "are appointed for a type to the servants of God." "I would fain know, [Sir,]" say I, "the type contained in these trees, of which thou speakest." "Seest thou," saith he, "the elm and the vine?" "I see them, Sir," say I. "This vine," saith he, "beareth fruit, but the elm is an unfruitful stock. Yet this vine, except it climb up the elm, cannot bear much fruit when it is spread on the ground; and such fruit as it beareth is rotten, because it is not suspended upon the elm. When then the vine is attached to the elm, it beareth fruit both from itself and from the elm. Thou seest then that the elm also beareth [much] fruit, not less than the vine, but rather more." "How more, Sir?" say I. "Because," saith he, "the vine, when hanging upon the elm, bears its fruit in abundance, and in good condition; but, when spread on the ground, it beareth little fruit, and that rotten. This parable therefore is applicable to the servants of God, to poor and to rich alike." "How, Sir?" say I; "instruct me." "Listen,"

saith he ; “ the rich man hath much wealth, but in the things of the Lord he is poor, being distracted about his riches, and his confession and intercession with the Lord is very scanty ; and even that which he giveth is small and weak and hath not power above. When then the rich man goeth up to the poor, and assisteth him in his needs, believing that for what he doth to the poor man he shall be able to obtain a reward with God—because the poor man is rich in intercession [and confession], and his intercession hath great power with God—the rich man then supplieth all things to the poor man without wavering. But the poor man being supplied by the rich maketh intercession for him, thanking God for him that gave to him. And the other is still more zealous to assist the poor man, that he may be continuous in his life : for he knoweth that the intercession of the poor man is acceptable and rich before God. They both then accomplish their work ; the poor man maketh intercession, wherein he is rich [which he received of the Lord] ; this he rendereth again to the Lord who supplieth him with it. The rich man too in like manner furnisheth to the poor man, nothing doubting, the riches which he received from the Lord. And this work is great and acceptable with God, because (the rich man) hath understanding concerning his riches, and worketh for the poor man from the bounties of the Lord, and accomplisheth the ministration of

the Lord rightly. In the sight of men then the elm seemeth not to bear fruit, and they know not, neither perceive, that if there cometh a drouht, the elm having water nutureth the vine, and the vine having a constant supply of water beareth fruit twofold, both for itself and for the elm. So likewise the poor, by interceding with the Lord for the rich, establish their riches, and again the rich, supplying their needs to the poor, establish their souls. So then both are made partners in the righteous work. He then that doeth these things shall not be abandoned of God, but shall be written in the books of the living. Blessed are the rich, who understand also that they are enriched from the Lord. For they that have this mind shall be able to do some good work."

ANOTHER PARABLE

He showed me many trees which had no leaves, but they seemed to me to be, as it were, withered; for they were all alike. And he saith to me "Seest thou these trees?" "I see them, Sir," I say, "they are all alike, and are withered." He answered and said to me, "These trees that thou seest are they that dwell in this world." "Wherefore then, Sir," say I, "are they as if they were withered, and alike?" "Because," said he, "neither the righteous are distinguishable, nor the sinners in this world, but they are alike. For this world is winter to the righteous, and they

are not distinguishable, as they dwell with the sinners. For as in the winter the trees, having shed their leaves, are alike, and are not distinguishable, which are withered, and which alive, so also in this world neither the just nor the sinners are distinguishable, but they are all alike."

ANOTHER PARABLE

He showed me many trees again, some of them sprouting, and others withered, and he saith to me, "Seest thou," saith he, "these trees?" "I see them, Sir," say I, "some of them sprouting, and others withered." "These trees," saith he, "that are sprouting are the righteous, who shall dwell in the world to come; for the world to come is summer to the righteous, but winter to the sinners. When then the mercy of the Lord shall shine forth, then they that serve God shall be made manifest; yea, and all men shall be made manifest. For as in summer the fruits of each several tree are made manifest, and are recognised of what sort they are, so also the fruits of the righteous shall be manifest, and all [even the very smallest] shall be known to be flourishing in that world. But the Gentiles and the sinners, just as thou sawest the trees which were withered, even such shall they be found, withered and unfruitful in that world, and shall be burnt up as fuel, and shall be manifest, because their practice in their

life hath been evil. For the sinners shall be burned, because they sinned and repented not; and the Gentiles shall be burned, because they knew not Him that created them. Do thou, therefore, bear fruit, that in that summer thy fruit may be known. But abstain from overmuch business, and thou shalt never fall into any sin. For they that busy themselves overmuch, sin much also, being distracted about their business, and in no wise serving their own Lord. How then," saith he, "can such a man ask anything of the Lord and receive it, seeing that he serveth not the Lord? [For] they that serve Him, these shall receive their petitions, but they that serve not the Lord, these shall receive nothing. But if anyone work one single action, he is able also to serve the Lord; for his mind shall not be corrupted from (following) the Lord, but he shall serve Him, because he keepeth his mind pure. If, therefore, thou doest these things, thou shalt be able to bear fruit unto the world to come; yea, and whosoever shall do these things shall bear fruit."

ANOTHER PARABLE

I. As I was fasting and seated on a certain mountain, and giving thanks to the Lord for all that He had done unto me, I see the shepherd seated by me and saying "Why hast thou come hither in the early morn?" "Be-

cause, Sir," say I, "I am keeping a station." "What," saith he, "is a station?" "I am fasting, Sir," say I. "And what," saith he, "is this fast [that ye are fasting]?" "As I was accustomed, Sir," say I, "so I fast." "Ye know not," saith he, "how to fast unto the Lord, neither is this a fast, this unprofitable fast which ye make unto Him." "Wherefore, Sir," say I, "sayest thou this?" "I tell thee," saith he, "that this is not a fast, wherein ye think to fast; but I will teach thee what is a complete fast and acceptable to the Lord. Listen," saith he; "God desireth not such a vain fast; for by so fasting unto God thou shalt do nothing for righteousness. But fast thou [unto God] such a fast as this; do no wickedness in thy life, and serve the Lord with a pure heart; observe His commandments and walk in His ordinances, and let no evil desire rise up in thy heart; but believe God. Then, if thou shalt do these things, and fear Him, and control thyself from every evil deed, thou shalt live unto God; and if thou do these things, thou shalt accomplish a great fast, and one acceptable to God.

2. "Hear the parable which I shall tell thee relating to fasting. A certain man had an estate, and many slaves, and a portion of his estate he planted as a vineyard; and choosing out a certain slave who was trusty and well-pleasing (and) held in honour, he called him to him and saith unto him, 'Take this vineyard [which I have planted], and fence it [till I

come], but do nothing else to the vineyard. Now keep this my commandment, and thou shalt be free in my house.' Then the master of the servant went away to travel abroad. When then he had gone away, the servant took and fenced the vineyard; and having finished the fencing of the vineyard, he noticed that the vineyard was full of weeds. So he reasoned within himself, saying, 'This command of my lord I have carried out. I will next dig this vineyard, and it shall be neater when it is digged; and when it hath no weeds it will yield more fruit, because not choked by the weeds.' He took and digged the vineyard, and all the weeds that were in the vineyard he plucked up. And that vineyard became very neat and flourishing, when it had no weeds to choke it. After a time the master of the servant [and of the estate] came, and he went into the vineyard. And seeing the vineyard fenced neatly, and digged as well, and [all] the weeds plucked up, and the vines flourishing, he rejoiced [exceedingly] at what his servant had done. So he called his beloved son, who was his heir, and the friends who were his advisers, and told them what he had commanded his servant, and how much he had found done. And they rejoiced with the servant at the testimony which his master had borne to him. And he saith to them, 'I promised this servant his freedom, if he should keep the commandment which I commanded him; but he kept my commandment and did

a good work besides to my vineyard, and pleased me greatly. For this work, therefore, which he has done, I desire to make him joint-heir with my son, because, when the good thought struck him, he did not neglect it, but fulfilled it.' In this purpose the son of the master agreed with him, that the servant should be made joint-heir with the son. After some few days, his master made a feast, and sent to him many dainties from the feast. But when the servant received [the dainties sent to him by the master], he took what was sufficient for him, and distributed the rest to his fellow-servants. And his fellow-servants, when they received the dainties, rejoiced, and began to pray for him, that he might find greater favour with the master, because he had treated them so handsomely. All these things which had taken place his master heard, and again rejoiced greatly at his deed. So the master called together again his friends and his son, and announced to them the deed that he had done with regard to his dainties which he had received; and they still more approved of his resolve, that his servant should be made joint-heir with his son."

3. I say, "Sir, I understand not these parables, neither can I apprehend them, unless thou explain them for me." "I will explain everything to thee," saith he; "and will show thee whatsoever things I shall speak with thee. Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be well-pleasing to God,

and shalt be enrolled among the number of them that keep His commandments. But if thou do any good thing outside the commandment of God, thou shalt win for thyself more exceeding glory, and shalt be more glorious in the sight of God than thou wouldest otherwise have been. If then, while thou keepest the commandments of God, thou add these services likewise, thou shalt rejoice, if thou observe them according to my commandment." I say to him, "Sir, whatsoever thou commandest me, I will keep it; for I know that thou art with me." "I will be with thee," saith he, "because thou hast so great zeal for doing good; yea, and I will be with all," saith he, "whosoever have such zeal as this. This fasting," saith he, "if the commandments of the Lord are kept, is very good. This then is the way, that thou shalt keep this fast [which thou art about to observe]. First of all, keep thyself from every evil word and every evil desire, and purify thy heart from all the vanities of this world. If thou keep these things, this fast shall be perfect for thee. And thus shalt thou do. Having fulfilled what is written, on that day on which thou fastest thou shalt taste nothing but bread and water; and from thy meats, which thou wouldest have eaten, thou shalt reckon up the amount of that day's expenditure, which thou wouldest have incurred, and shalt give it to a widow, or an orphan, or to one in want, and so shalt thou humble thy soul,

that he that hath received from thy humiliation may satisfy his own soul, and may pray for thee to the Lord. If then thou shalt so accomplish this fast, as I have commanded thee, thy sacrifice shall be acceptable in the sight of God, and this fasting shall be recorded, and the service so performed is beautiful and joyous and acceptable to the Lord. These things thou shalt so observe, thou and thy children and thy whole household; and, observing them, thou shalt be blessed; yea, and all those, who shall hear and observe them shall be blessed, and whatsoever things they shall ask of the Lord, they shall receive."

4. I entreated him earnestly, that he would show me the parable of the estate, and of the master, and of the vineyard, and of the servant that fenced the vineyard, [and of the fence], and of the weeds which were plucked up out of the vineyard, and of the son, and of the friends, the advisers. For I understood that all these things are a parable. But he answered and said unto me; "Thou art exceedingly importunate in inquiries. Thou oughtest not," [saith he,] "to make any inquiry at all; for if it be right that a thing be explained unto thee, it shall be explained." I say to him, "Sir, whatsoever things thou showest unto me and dost not explain, I shall have seen them in vain, and without understanding what they are. In like manner also, if thou speak parables to me and interpret them not, I shall have heard a thing in vain

from thee." But he again answered, and said unto me, "Whosoever," saith he, "is a servant of God, and hath his own Lord in his heart, asketh understanding of Him, and receiveth it, and interpreteth every parable, and the words of the Lord which are spoken in parables are made known unto him. But as many as are sluggish and idle in intercession, these hesitate to ask of the Lord. But the Lord is abundant in compassion, and giveth to them that ask of Him without ceasing. But thou who hast been strengthened by the holy angel, and hast received from him such (powers of) intercession and art not idle, wherefore dost thou not ask understanding of the Lord, and obtain it from Him?" I say to him, "Sir, I that have thee with me have (but) need to ask thee and inquire of thee; for thou showest me all things, and speakest with me; but if I had seen or heard them apart from thee I should have asked of the Lord, that they might be shown to me."

5. "I told thee just now," saith he, "that thou art unscrupulous and importunate, in inquiring for the interpretations of the parables. But since thou art so obstinate, I will interpret to thee the parable of the estate and all the accompaniments thereof, that thou mayest make them known unto all. Hear now," saith he, "and understand them. The estate is this world, and the lord of the estate is He that created all things, and set them in

order, and endowed them with power; and the servant is the Son of God, and the vines are this people whom He Himself planted; and the fences are the [holy] angels of the Lord who keep together His people; and the weeds, which are plucked up from the vineyard, are the transgressions of the servants of God; and the dainties which He sent to him from the feast are the commandments which He gave to His people through His Son; and the friends and advisers are the holy angels which were first created; and the absence of the master is the time which remaineth over until His coming." I say to him, "Sir, great and marvellous are all things and all things are glorious; was it likely then," say I, "that I could have apprehended them?" "Nay, nor can any other man, though he be full of understanding, apprehend them." "Yet again, Sir," say I, "explain to me what I am about to inquire of thee." "Say on," he saith, "if thou desirest anything." "Wherefore, [Sir,]" say I, "is the Son of God represented in the parable in the guise of a servant?"

6. "Listen," said he; "the Son of God is not represented in the guise of a servant, but is represented in great power and lordship." "How, Sir?" say I; "I comprehend not." "Because," saith he, "God planted the vineyard, that is, He created the people, and delivered them over to His Son. And the Son placed the angels in charge of them, to

watch over them; and the Son Himself cleansed their sins, by labouring much and enduring many toils; for no one can dig without toil or labour. Having Himself then cleansed the sins of His people, He showed them the paths of life, giving them the law which He received from His Father. Thou seest," saith he, "that He is Himself Lord of the people, having received all power from His Father. But how that the lord took his son and the glorious angels as advisers concerning the inheritance of the servant, listen. The Holy Pre-existent Spirit, which created the whole creation, God made to dwell in flesh that He desired. This flesh, therefore, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, was subject unto the Spirit, walking honourably in holiness and purity, without in any way defiling the Spirit. When then it had lived honourably in chastity, and had laboured with the Spirit, and had co-operated with it in everything, behaving itself boldly and bravely, He chose it as a partner with the Holy Spirit; for the career of this flesh pleased [the Lord], seeing that, as possessing the Holy Spirit, it was not defiled upon the earth. He therefore took the son as adviser and the glorious angels also, that this flesh too, having served the Spirit unblamably, might have some place of sojourn, and might not seem to have lost the reward for its service; for all flesh, which is found undefiled and unspotted, wherein the Holy Spirit dwelt, shall receive a reward. Now

thou hast the interpretation of this parable also."

7. "I was right glad, Sir," say I, "to hear this interpretation." "Listen now," saith he. "Keep this thy flesh pure and undefiled, that the Spirit which dwelleth in it may bear witness to it, and thy flesh may be justified. See that it never enter into thine heart that this flesh of thine is perishable, and so thou abuse it in some defilement. [For] if thou defile thy flesh, thou shalt defile the Holy Spirit also; but if thou defile †the flesh†, thou shalt not live." "But if, Sir," say I, "there has been any ignorance in times past, before these words were heard, how shall a man who has defiled his flesh be saved?" "For the former deeds of ignorance," saith he, "God alone hath power to give healing; for all authority is His. [But now keep thyself, and the Lord Almighty who is full of compassion, will give healing for thy former deeds of ignorance], if henceforth thou defile not thy flesh, neither the Spirit; for both share in common, and the one cannot be defiled without the other. Therefore keep both pure, and thou shalt live unto God."

PARABLE THE SIXTH

I. As I sat in my house, and glorified the Lord for all things that I had seen, and was considering concerning the commandments, how that they were beautiful and powerful

and gladsome and glorious and able to save a man's soul, I said within myself; "Blessed shall I be, if I walk in these commandments; yea, and whosoever shall walk in them shall be blessed." As I spake these things within myself, I see him suddenly seated by me, and saying as follows: "Why art thou of a doubtful mind concerning the commandments, which I commanded thee? They are beautiful. Doubt not at all; but clothe thyself in the faith of the Lord, and thou shalt walk in them. For I will strengthen thee in them. These commandments are suitable for those who meditate repentance; for if they walk not in them, their repentance is in vain. Ye then that repent, cast away the evil doings of this world which crush you; and, by putting on every excellence of righteousness, ye shall be able to observe these commandments, and to add no more to your sins. If then ye add no further sin at all, ye will depart from your former sins. Walk then in these my commandments, and ye shall live unto God. These things have [all] been told you from me." And after he had told these things to me, he saith to me, "Let us go into the country, and I will show thee the shepherds of the sheep." "Let us go, Sir," say I. And we came to a certain plain, and he showeth me a young man, a shepherd, clothed in a light cloak, of saffron colour; and he was feeding a great number of sheep, and these sheep were, as it were, well fed and very

frisky, and were gladsome as they skipped about hither and thither; and the shepherd himself was all gladsome over his flock; and the very visage of the shepherd was exceedingly gladsome; and he ran about among the sheep.

2. And he saith to me, "Seest thou this shepherd?" "I see him, Sir," I say. "This," saith he, "is the angel of self-indulgence and of deceit. He crusheth the souls of the servants of God, and perverteth them from the truth, leading them astray with evil desires, wherein they perish. For they forget the commandments of the living God, and walk in vain deceits and acts of self-indulgence, and are destroyed by this angel, some of them unto death, and others unto corruption." I say to him, "Sir, I comprehend not what means 'unto death,' and what 'unto corruption.'" "Listen," saith he; "the sheep which thou sawest gladsome and skipping about, these are they who have been turned asunder from God utterly, and have delivered themselves over to the lusts of this world. In these, therefore, there is not repentance unto life. For the Name of God is being blasphemed through them. The life of such persons is death. But the sheep, which thou sawest not skipping about, but feeding in one place, these are they that have delivered themselves over to acts of self-indulgence and deceit, but have not uttered any blasphemy against the Lord. These then

have been corrupted from the truth. In these there is hope of repentance, wherein they can live. Corruption then hath hope of a possible renewal, but death hath eternal destruction." Again we went forward a little way, and he showeth me a great shepherd like a wild man in appearance, with a white goatskin thrown about him; and he had a kind of wallet on his shoulders, and a staff very hard and with knots in it, and a great whip. And his look was very sour, so that I was afraid of him because of his look. This shepherd then kept receiving from the young man, the shepherd, those sheep that were frisky and well-fed, but not skipping about, and putting them in a certain spot, which was precipitous and covered with thorns and briars, so that the sheep could not disentangle themselves from the thorns and briars, but [became entangled among the thorns and briars. And so they] pastured entangled in the thorns and briars, and were in great misery with being beaten by him; and he kept driving them about to and fro, and giving them no rest, and altogether those sheep had not a happy time.

3. When then I saw them so lashed with the whip and vexed, I was sorry for their sakes, because they were so tortured and had no rest at all. I say to the shepherd who was speaking with me, "Sir, who is this shepherd, who is [so] hard-hearted and severe, and has no compassion at all for these sheep?" "This,"

saith he, "is the angel of punishment, and he is one of the just angels, and presides over punishment. So he receiveth those who wander away from God, and walk after the lusts and deceits of this life, and punisheth them, as they deserve, with fearful and various punishments." "I would fain learn, Sir," say I, "of what sort are these various punishments." "Listen," saith he; "the various tortures and punishments are tortures belonging to the present life; for some are punished with losses, and others with want, and others with divers maladies, and others with [every kind] of unsettlement, and others with insults from unworthy persons and with suffering in many other respects. For many, being unsettled in their plans, set their hands to many things, and nothing ever goes forward with them. And then they say that they do not prosper in their doings, and it doth not enter into their hearts that they have done evil deeds, but they blame the Lord. When then they are afflicted with every kind of affliction, then they are delivered over to me for good instruction, and are strengthened in the faith of the Lord, and serve the Lord with a pure heart the remaining days of their life. But, if they repent, the evil works which they have done rise up in their hearts, and then they glorify God, saying that He is a just Judge, and that they suffered justly each according to his doings. And they serve the Lord thenceforward with

a pure heart, and are prosperous in all their doings, receiving from the Lord whatsoever things they may ask; and then they glorify the Lord because they were delivered over unto me, and they no longer suffer any evil thing."

4. I say unto him, "Sir, declare unto me this further matter." "What inquirest thou yet?" saith he. "Whether, Sir," say I, "they that live in self-indulgence and are deceived undergo torments during the same length of time as they live in self-indulgence and are deceived." He saith to me, "They undergo torments for the same length of time." "Then, Sir," say I, "they undergo very slight torments; for those who are living thus in self-indulgence and forget God ought to have been tormented sevenfold." He saith to me, "Thou art foolish, and comprehendest not the power of the torment." "True," say I, "for if I had comprehended it, I should not have asked thee to declare it to me." "Listen," saith he, "to the power of both, [of the self-indulgence and of the torment]. The time of the self-indulgence and deceit is one hour. But an hour of the torment hath the power of thirty days. If then one live in self-indulgence and be deceived for one day, and be tormented for one day, the day of the torment is equivalent to a whole year. For as many days then as a man lives in self-indulgence, for so many years is he tormented. Thou seest then," saith

he, "that the time of the self-indulgence and deceit is very short, but the time of the punishment and torment is long."

5. "Inasmuch, Sir," say I, "as I do not quite comprehend concerning the time of the deceit and self-indulgence and torment, show me more clearly." He answered and said unto me, "Thy stupidity cleaveth to thee; and thou wilt not cleanse thy heart and serve God. Take heed," [saith he,] "lest haply the time be fulfilled, and thou be found in thy foolishness. Listen then," [saith he,] "even as thou wishest, that thou mayest comprehend the matter. He that liveth in self-indulgence and is deceived for one day, and doeth what he wisheth, is clothed in much folly and comprehendeth not the thing which he doeth; for on the morrow he forgetteth what he did the day before. For self-indulgence and deceit have no memories, by reason of the folly, wherewith each is clothed; but when punishment and torment cling to a man for a single day, he is punished and tormented for a whole year long; for punishment and torment have long memories. So being tormented and punished for the whole year, the man remembers at length the self-indulgence and deceit, and perceiveth that it is on their account that he is suffering these ills. Every man, therefore, that liveth in self-indulgence and is deceived, is tormented in this way because, though possessing life, they have delivered themselves over unto death."

“What kinds of self-indulgence, Sir,” say I, “are harmful?” “Every action,” saith he, “is self-indulgence to a man, which he does with pleasure; for the irascible man, when he gives the reins to his passion, is self-indulgent; and the adulterer and the drunkard and the slanderer and the liar and the miser and the defrauder and he that doeth things akin to these, giveth the reins to his peculiar passion; therefore he is self-indulgent in his action. All these habits of self-indulgence are harmful to the servants of God; on account of these deceits, therefore, they so suffer who are punished and tormented. But there are habits of self-indulgence likewise which save men; for many are self-indulgent in doing good, being carried away by the pleasure it gives to themselves. This self-indulgence then is expedient for the servants of God, and bringeth life to a man of this disposition; but the harmful self-indulgences afore-mentioned bring to men torments and punishments; and if they continue in them and repent not, they bring death upon themselves.”

PARABLE THE SEVENTH

After a few days I saw him on the same plain, where also I had seen the shepherds, and he saith to me, “What seekest thou?” “I am here, Sir,” say I, “that thou mayest bid the shepherd that punisheth go out of my

house; for he afflicteth me much." "It is necessary for thee," saith he, "to be afflicted; for so," saith he, "the glorious angel ordered as concerning thee, for he wisheth thee to be proved." "Why, what so evil thing have I done, Sir," say I, "that I should be delivered over to this angel?" "Listen," saith he. "Thy sins are many, yet not so many that thou shouldest be delivered over to this angel; but thy house has committed great iniquities and sins, and the glorious angel was embittered at their deeds, and for this cause he bade thee be afflicted for a certain time, that they also might repent and cleanse themselves from every lust of this world. When, therefore, they shall repent and be cleansed, then shall the angel of punishment depart." I say to him, "Sir, if they perpetrated such deeds that the glorious angel is embittered, what have I done?" "They cannot be afflicted otherwise," saith he, "unless thou, the head of the [whole] house, be afflicted; for if thou be afflicted, they also of necessity will be afflicted; but if thou be prosperous, they can suffer no affliction." "But behold, Sir," say I, "they have repented with their whole heart." "I am quite aware myself," saith he, "that they have repented with their whole heart; well, thinkest thou that the sins of those who repent are forgiven forthwith? Certainly not; but the person who repents must torture his own soul, and must be thoroughly humble in his every

action, and be afflicted with all the divers kinds of affliction; and if he endure the afflictions which come upon him, assuredly He who created all things and endowed them with power will be moved with compassion and will bestow some remedy. And this (will God do), if in any way He perceive the heart of the penitent pure from every evil thing. But it is expedient for thee and for thy house that thou shouldst be afflicted now. But why speak I many words to thee? Thou must be afflicted as the angel of the Lord commanded, even he that delivered thee unto me; and for this give thanks to the Lord, in that He deemed thee worthy that I should reveal unto thee beforehand the affliction, that foreknowing it thou mightest endure it with fortitude." I say unto him, "Sir, be thou with me, and I shall be able to endure all affliction [easily]." "I will be with thee," saith he; "and I will ask the angel that punisheth to afflict thee more lightly; but thou shalt be afflicted for a short time, and thou shalt be restored again to thy house. Only continue to be humble and to minister unto the Lord with a pure heart, thou and thy children and thy house, and walk in my commandments which I command thee, and thus it will be possible for thy repentance to be strong and pure. And if thou keep these commandments with thy household, all affliction shall hold aloof from thee; yea, and affliction," saith he, "shall hold aloof

from all whosoever shall walk in these my commandments."

PARABLE THE EIGHTH

1. He showed me a [great] willow, overshadowing plains and mountains, and under the shadow of the willow all have come who are called by the name of the Lord. And by the willow there stood an angel of the Lord, glorious and very tall, having a great sickle, and he was lopping branches from the willow, and giving them to the people that sheltered beneath the willow; and he gave them little rods about a cubit long. And after all had taken the rods, the angel laid aside the sickle, and the tree was sound, just as I had seen it. Then I marvelled within myself, saying, "How is the tree sound after so many branches have been lopped off?" The shepherd saith to me, "Marvel not that the tree remained sound, after so many branches were lopped off; but wait until thou seest all things, and it shall be shown to thee what it is." The angel who gave the rods to the people demanded them back from them again; and according as they had received them, so also they were summoned to him, and each of them returned the several rods. But the angel of the Lord took them, and examined them. From some he received the rods withered and eaten as it were by grubs; the

angel ordered those who gave up rods like these to stand apart. And others gave them up withered, but not grub-eaten; and these again he ordered to stand apart. And others gave them up half-withered; these also stood apart. And others gave up their rods half-withered and with cracks; these also stood apart. And others gave up their rods green and with cracks; these also stood apart. And others gave up their rods one half withered and one half green; these also stood apart. And others brought their rods two parts of the rod green, and the third part withered; these also stood apart. And others gave them up two parts withered, and the third part green; these also stood apart. And others gave up their rods nearly all green, but a very small portion of their rods was withered, just the end; but they had cracks in them; these also stood apart. And in those of others there was a very small portion green, but the rest of the rods was withered; these also stood apart. And others came bringing their rods green, as they received them from the angel; and the most part of the multitude gave up their rods in this state; and the angel rejoiced exceedingly at these; these also stood apart. And others gave up their rods green and with shoots; these also stood apart; and at these again the angel rejoiced exceedingly. And others gave up their rods green and with shoots; and their shoots had, as it were, a kind of fruit. And

those men were exceeding gladsome, whose rods were found in this state. And over them the angel exulted, and the shepherd was very gladsome over them.

2. And the angel of the Lord commanded crowns to be brought. And crowns were brought, made as it were of palm-branches; and he crowned the men that had given up the rods which had the shoots and some fruit, and sent them away into the tower. And the others also he sent into the tower, even those who had given up the rods green and with shoots, but the shoots were without fruit; and he set a seal upon them. And all they that went into the tower had the same raiment, white as snow. And those that had given up their rods green as they received them, he sent away, giving them a [white] robe, and seals. After the angel had finished these things, he saith to the shepherd, "I go away; but these thou shalt send away to (their places within) the walls, according as each deserveth to dwell; but examine their rods carefully, and so send them away. But be careful in examining them. Take heed lest any escape thee," saith he. "Still if any escape thee, I will test them at the altar." When he had thus spoken to the shepherd, he departed. And, after the angel had departed, the shepherd saith to me, "Let us take the rods of all and plant them, to see whether any of them shall be able to live." I say unto him, "Sir, these withered things, how can

they live? ” He answered and said unto me, “ This tree is a willow, and this class of trees clingeth to life. If then the rods shall be planted and get a little moisture, many of them will live. And afterwards let us try to pour some water also over them. If any of them shall be able to live, I will rejoice with it; but if it live not, I at least shall not be found neglectful.” So the shepherd bade me call them, just as each one of them was stationed. And they came row after row, and they delivered up the rods to the shepherd. And the shepherd took the rods, and planted them in rows, and after he had planted them, he poured much water over them, so that the rods could not be seen for the water. And after he had watered the rods, he saith to me, “ Let us go now, and after a few days let us return and inspect all the rods; for He who created this tree willeth that all those who have received rods from this tree should live. And I myself hope that these little rods, after they have got moisture and been watered, will live the greater part of them.”

3. I say to him, “ Sir, inform me what this tree is. For I am perplexed herewith, because, though so many branches were cut off, the tree is sound, and nothing appears to have been cut from it; I am therefore perplexed thereat.” “ Listen,” saith he; “ this great tree which overshadows plains and mountains and all the earth is the law of God which was given to the whole world;

and this law is the Son of God preached unto the ends of the earth. But the people that are under the shadow are they that have heard the preaching, and believed on Him; but the great and glorious angel is Michael, who hath the power over this people and is their captain. For this is he that putteth the law into the hearts of the believers; therefore he himself inspecteth them to whom he gave it, to see whether they have observed it. But thou seest the rods of every one; for the rods are the law. Thou seest these many rods rendered useless, and thou shalt notice all those that have not observed the law, and shalt see the abode of each severally." I say unto him, "Sir, wherefore did he send away some into the tower, and leave others for thee?" "As many," saith he, "as transgressed the law which they received from him, these he left under my authority for repentance; but as many as already satisfied the law and have observed it, these he has under his own authority." "Who then, Sir," say I, "are they that have been crowned and go into the tower?" ["As many," saith he, "as wrestled with the devil and overcame him in their wrestling, are crowned:] these are they that suffered for the law. But the others, who likewise gave up their rods green and with shoots, though not with fruit, are they that were persecuted for the law, but did not suffer nor yet deny their law. But they that gave them up green just as they

received them, are sober and righteous men. who walked altogether in a pure heart and have kept the commandments of the Lord. But all else thou shalt know, when I have examined these rods that have been planted and watered."

4. And after a few days we came to the place, and the shepherd sat down in the place of the angel, while I stood by him. And he saith to me, "Gird thyself with a garment of raw flax, and minister to me." So I girded myself with a clean garment of raw flax made of coarse material. And when he saw me girded and ready to minister to him, "Call," saith he, "the men whose rods have been planted, according to the rank as each presented their rods." And I went away to the plain, and called them all; and they stood all of them according to their ranks. He saith to them, "Let each man pluck out his own rod, and bring it to me." Those gave them up first, who had had the withered and chipped rods, and they were found accordingly withered and chipped. He ordered them to stand apart. Then those gave them up, who had the withered but not chipped; and some of them gave up the rods green, and others withered and chipped as by grubs. Those then that gave them up green he ordered to stand apart; but those that gave them up withered and chipped he ordered to stand with the first. Then those gave them up who had had the half-withered and with cracks; and

many of them gave them up green and without cracks; and some gave them up green and with shoots, and fruits on the shoots, such as those had who went into the tower crowned; and some gave them up withered and eaten, and some withered and uneaten, and some such as they were, half-withered and with cracks. He ordered them to stand each one apart, some in their proper ranks, and others apart.

5. Then those gave them up who had their rods green, but with cracks. These all gave them up green, and stood in their own company. And the shepherd rejoiced over these, because they all were changed and had put away their cracks. And those gave them up likewise who had the one half green and the other half withered. The rods of some were found entirely green, of some half-withered, of some withered and eaten, and of some green and with shoots. These were all sent away each to his company. Then those gave them up who had two parts green and the third withered; many of them gave them up green, and many half-withered, and others withered and eaten. These all stood in their own company. Then those gave them up who had two parts withered and the third part green. Many of them gave them up half-withered, but some withered and eaten, others half-withered and with cracks, and a few green. These all stood in their own company. Then those gave them up who had had their

rods green, but a very small part [withered] and with cracks. Of these some gave them up green, and others green and with shoots. These also went away to their own company. Then those gave them up who had a very small part green and the other parts withered. The rods of these were found for the most part green and with shoots and fruit on the shoots, and others altogether green. At these rods the shepherd rejoiced very [greatly], because they were found so. And these went away each to his own company.

6. After [the shepherd] had examined the rods of all, he saith to me, "I told thee that this tree clingeth to life. Seest thou," saith he, "how many repented and were saved?" "I see, Sir," say I. "It is," saith he, "that thou mayest see the abundant compassion of the Lord, how great and glorious it is, and He hath given (His) Spirit to those that are worthy of repentance." "Wherefore then, Sir," say I, "did they not all repent?" "To those, whose heart He saw about to become pure and to serve Him with all the heart, to them He gave repentance; but those whose craftiness and wickedness He saw, who intend to repent in hypocrisy, to them He gave not repentance, lest haply they should again profane His name." I say unto him, "Sir, now then show me concerning those that have given up their rods, what manner of man each of them is, and their abode, that when they hear this, they that believed and have

received the seal and have broken it and did not keep it sound may fully understand what they are doing, and repent, receiving from thee a seal, and may glorify the Lord, that He had compassion upon them and sent thee to renew their spirits." "Listen," saith he; "those whose rods were found withered and grub-eaten, these are the renegades and traitors to the Church, that blasphemed the Lord in their sins, and still further were ashamed of the Name of the Lord, which was invoked upon them. These then perished altogether unto God. But thou seest how not one of them repented, although they heard the words which thou spakest to them, which I commanded thee. From men of this kind life departed. But those that gave up the green and undecayed (rods), these also are near them; for they were hypocrites, and brought in strange doctrines, and perverted the servants of God, especially them that had sinned, not permitting them to repent, but persuading them with their foolish doctrines. These then have hope of repenting. But thou seest that many of them have indeed repented from the time when thou spakest to them my commandments; yea, and (others) still will repent. And as many as shall not repent, have lost their life; but as many of them as repented, became good; and their dwelling was placed within the first walls, and some of them even ascended into the tower. Thou seest then," [saith he,] "that

repentance from sins bringeth life, but not to repent bringeth death.

7. "But as many as gave up (the rods) half-withered, and with cracks in them, hear also concerning these. Those whose rods were half-withered throughout are the double-minded; for they neither live nor are dead. But those that have them half-withered and cracks in them, these are both double-minded and slanderers, and are never at peace among themselves but always causing dissensions. Yet even to these," [saith he,] "repentance is given. Thou seest," [saith he,] "that some of them have repented; and there is still," saith he, "hope of repentance among them. And as many of them," saith he, "as have repented, have their abode within the tower; but as many of them as have repented tardily shall abide within the walls; and as many as repent not, but continue in their doings, shall die the death. But they that have given up their rods green and with cracks, these were found faithful and good at all times, [but] they have a certain emulation one with another about first places and about glory of some kind or other; but all these are foolish in having (emulation) one with another about first places. Yet these also, when they heard my commandments, being good, purified themselves and repented quickly. They have their habitation, therefore, within the tower. But if anyone shall again turn to dissension, he shall be cast out from the tower

and shall lose his life. Life is for all those that keep the commandments of the Lord. But in the commandments there is nothing about first places, or about glory of any kind, but about long-suffering and humility in man. In such men, therefore, is the life of the Lord, but in factious and lawless men is death.

8. " But they that gave up their rods half green and half withered, these are they that are mixed up in business and cleave not to the saints. Therefore the one half of them liveth, but the other half is dead. Many then when they heard my commandments repented. As many then as repented, have their abode within the tower. But some of them altogether stood aloof. These then have no repentance; for by reason of their business affairs they blasphemed the Lord and denied Him. So they lost their life for the wickedness that they committed. But many of them were doubtful-minded. These still have place for repentance, if they repent quickly, and their dwelling shall be within the tower; and if they repent tardily, they shall dwell within the walls; but if they repent not, they too have lost their life. But they that have given up two parts green and the third part withered, these are they that have denied with manifold denials. Many of them therefore repented, and departed to dwell inside the tower; but many utterly rebelled from God; these lost their life finally. And some

of them were double-minded and caused dissensions. For these then there is repentance, if they repent speedily and continue not in their pleasures; but if they continue in their doings, they likewise procure for themselves death.

9. "But they that have given up their rods two-thirds withered and one-third green, these are men who have been believers, but grew rich and became renowned among the Gentiles. They clothed themselves with great pride and became high-minded, and abandoned the truth and did not cleave to the righteous, but lived together after the manner of the Gentiles, and this path appeared the more pleasant unto them; yet they departed not from God, but continued in the faith, though they wrought not the works of the faith. Many of them, therefore, repented, and they had their habitation within the tower. But others at the last living with the Gentiles, and being corrupted by the vain opinions of the Gentiles, departed from God, and worked the works of the Gentiles. These, therefore, were numbered with the Gentiles. But others of them were doubtful-minded, not hoping to be saved by reason of the deeds that they had done; and others were double-minded and made divisions among themselves. For these then that were double-minded by reason of their doings there is still repentance; but their repentance ought to be speedy, that their dwelling may be within

the tower; but for those who repent not, but continue in their pleasures, death is nigh.

10. "But they that gave up their rods green, yet with the extreme ends withered and with cracks; these were found at all times good and faithful and glorious in the sight of God, but they sinned to a very slight degree by reason of little desires and because they had somewhat against one another. But, when they heard my words, the greater part quickly repented, and their dwelling was assigned within the tower. But some of them were double-minded, and some being double-minded made a greater dissension. In these then there is still a hope of repentance because they were found always good; and hardly shall one of them die. But they that gave up their rods withered, yet with a very small part green, these are they that believed, but practised the works of lawlessness. Still they never separated from God, but bore the Name gladly, and gladly received into their houses the servants of God. So hearing of this repentance they repented without wavering, and they practise all excellence and righteousness. And some of them even suffer persecution willingly, knowing the deeds that they did. All these then shall have their dwelling within the tower."

11. And after he had completed the interpretations of all the rods, he saith unto me, "Go, and tell all men to repent, and they shall live unto God; for the Lord in His com-

passion sent me to give repentance to all, though some of them do not deserve it for their deeds; but being long-suffering the Lord willeth them that were called through His Son to be saved." I say to him, "Sir, I hope that all when they hear these words will repent; for I am persuaded that each one, when he fully knows his own deeds and fears God, will repent." He answered and said unto me, "As many," [saith he,] "as [shall repent] from their whole heart [and] shall cleanse themselves from all the evil deeds afore-mentioned, and shall add nothing further to their sins, shall receive healing from the Lord for their former sins, unless they be double-minded concerning these commandments, and they shall live unto God. [But as many," saith he, "as shall add to their sins and walk in the lusts of this world, shall condemn themselves to death.] But do thou walk in my commandments, and live [unto God; yea, and as many as shall walk in them and shall do rightly, shall live unto God.]" Having shown me all these things [and told me them] he saith to me, "Now the rest will I declare (unto thee) after a few days."

PARABLE THE NINTH

1. After I had written down the commandments and parables of the shepherd, the angel of repentance, he came to me and saith to

me, "I wish to show thee all things that the Holy Spirit, which spake with thee in the form of the Church, showed unto thee. For that Spirit is the Son of God. For when thou wast weaker in the flesh, it was not declared unto thee through an angel; but when thou wast enabled through the Spirit, and didst grow mighty in thy strength so that thou couldest even see an angel, then at length was manifested unto thee, through the Church, the building of the tower. In fair and seemly manner hast thou seen all things, (instructed) as it were by a virgin; but now thou seest (being instructed) by an angel, though by the same Spirit; yet must thou learn everything more accurately from me. For to this end also was I appointed by the glorious angel to dwell in thy house, that thou mightest see all things mightily, in nothing terrified, even as before." And he took me away into Arcadia, to a certain rounded mountain, and set me on the top of the mountain, and showed me a great plain and round the plain twelve mountains, the mountains having each a different appearance. The first was black as soot; the second was bare, without vegetation; the third was thorny and full of briars; the fourth had the vegetation half-withered, the upper part of the grass green, but the part by the roots withered, and some of the grass became withered, whenever the sun had scorched it; the fifth mountain had green grass and was rugged; the sixth mountain

was full with clefts throughout, some small and some great, and the clefts had vegetation, but the grass was not very luxuriant, but rather as if it had been withered; the seventh mountain had smiling vegetation, and the whole mountain was in a thriving condition, and cattle and birds of every kind did feed upon that mountain; and the more the cattle and the birds did feed, so much the more did the herbage of that mountain flourish. The eighth mountain was full of springs, and every kind of creature of the Lord did drink of the springs on that mountain. The ninth mountain had no water at all, and was entirely desert; and it had in it wild beasts and deadly reptiles, which destroy mankind. The tenth mountain had very large trees and was umbrageous throughout, and beneath the shade lay sheep resting and feeding. The eleventh mountain was thickly wooded all over, and the trees thereon were very productive, decked with divers kinds of fruits, so that one seeing them would desire to eat of their fruits. The twelfth mountain was altogether white and its aspect was cheerful; and the mountain was most beauteous in itself.

2. And in the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock, rising up from the plain. The rock was loftier than the mountains, being four-square, so that it could contain the whole world. Now this rock was ancient, and had a gate hewn out of it; but

the gate seemed to me to have been hewed out quite recently. And the gate glistened beyond the brightness of the sun, so that I marvelled at the brightness of the gate. And around the gate stood twelve virgins. The four then that stood at the corners seemed to me to be more glorious (than the rest); but the others likewise were glorious; and they stood at the four quarters of the gate, and virgins stood in pairs between them. And they were clothed in linen tunics and girt about in seemly fashion, having their right shoulders free, as if they intended to carry some burden. Thus were they prepared, for they were very cheerful and eager. After I had seen these things, I marvelled in myself at the greatness and the glory of what I was seeing. And again I was perplexed concerning the virgins, that delicate as they were they stood up like men, as if they intended to carry the whole heaven. And the shepherd saith unto me, "Why questionest thou within thyself and art perplexed, and bringest sadness on thyself? For whatsoever things thou canst not comprehend, attempt them not, if thou art prudent; but entreat the Lord, that thou mayest receive understanding to comprehend them. What is behind thee thou canst not see, but what is before thee thou beholdest. The things, therefore, which thou canst not see, let alone, and trouble not thyself (about them); but the things which thou seest, these master, and be not over

curious about the rest ; but I will explain unto thee all things whatsoever I shall show thee. Have an eye, therefore, to what remaineth."

3. I saw six men come, tall and glorious and alike in appearance ; and they summoned a multitude of men. And the others also which came were tall men and handsome and powerful. And the six men ordered them to build a tower above the gate. And there arose a great noise from those men who had come to build the tower, as they ran hither and thither round the gate. For the virgins standing round the gate told the men to hasten to build the tower. Now the virgins had spread out their hands, as if they would take something from the men. And the six men ordered stones to come up from a certain deep place, and to go to the building of the tower. And there went up ten stones square and polished, [not] hewn from a quarry. And the six men called to the virgins, and ordered them to carry all the stones which should go unto the building of the tower, and to pass through the gate and to hand them to the men that were about to build the tower. And the virgins laid the first ten stones that rose out of the deep on each other, and they carried them together, stone by stone.

4. And just as they stood together around the gate, in that order they carried them that seemed to be strong enough and had stooped under the corners of the stone, while the others stooped at the sides of the stone. And so they

carried all the stones. And they carried them right through the gate, as they were ordered, and handed them to the men for the tower; and these took the stones and builded. Now the building of the tower was upon the great rock and above the gate. Those ten stones then were joined together, and they covered the whole rock. And these formed a foundation for the building of the tower. And [the rock and] the gate supported the whole tower. And, after the ten stones, other twenty-five stones came up from the deep, and these were fitted into the building of the tower, being carried by the virgins, like the former. And after these thirty-five stones came up. And these likewise were fitted into the tower. And after these came up other forty stones, and these all were put into the building of the tower. So four rows were made in the foundations of the tower. And (the stones) ceased coming up from the deep, and the builders likewise ceased for a little. And again the six men ordered the multitude of the people to bring in stones from the mountains for the building of the tower. They were brought in accordingly from all the mountains, of various colours, shaped by the men, and were handed to the virgins; and the virgins carried them right through the gate, and handed them in for the building of the tower. And when the various stones were placed in the building, they became all alike and white, and they lost their various colours.

But some stones were handed in by the men for the building, and these did not become bright; but just as they were placed, such likewise were they found; for they were not handed in by the virgins, nor had they been carried in through the gate. These stones then were unsightly in the building of the tower. Then the six men, seeing the stones that were unsightly in the building, ordered them to be removed and carried [below] into their own place whence they were brought. And they say to the men who were bringing the stones in, "Abstain for your parts altogether from handing in stones for the building; but place them by the tower, that the virgins may carry them through the gate, and hand them in for the building. For if," [say they,] "they be not carried in through the gate by the hands of these virgins, they cannot change their colours. Labour not, therefore," [say they,] "in vain."

5. And the building was finished on that day, yet was not the tower finally completed, for it was to be carried up [still] higher; and there was a cessation in the building. And the six men ordered the builders to retire for a short time [all of them], and to rest; but the virgins they ordered not to retire from the tower. And methought the virgins were left to guard the tower. And after all had retired [and rested], I say to the shepherd, "How is it, Sir," say I, "that the building of the tower was not completed?" "The tower," he

saith, "cannot yet be finally completed, until its master come and test this building, that if any stones be found crumbling, he may change them; for the tower is being built according to His will." "I would fain know, Sir," say I, "what is this building of this tower, and concerning the rock and gate, and the mountains, and the virgins, and the stones that came up from the deep, and were not shaped, but went just as they were into the building; and wherefore ten stones were first placed in the foundations, then twenty-five, then thirty-five, then forty, and concerning the stones that had gone to the building and were removed again and put away in their own place—concerning all these things set my soul at rest, Sir, and explain them to me." "If," saith he, "thou be not found possessed of an idle curiosity, thou shalt know all things. For after a few days we shall come here, and thou shalt see the sequel that overtaketh this tower and shalt understand all the parables accurately." And after a few days we came to the place where we had sat and he saith to me, "Let us go to the tower; for the owner of the tower cometh to inspect it." And we came to the tower, and there was no one at all by it, save the virgins alone. And the shepherd asked the virgins whether the master of the tower had arrived. And they said that he would be there directly to inspect the building.

6. And, behold, after a little while I see an

array of many men coming, and in the midst a man of such lofty stature that he overtopped the tower. And the six men who superintended the building walked with him on the right hand and on the left, and all they that worked at the building were with him, and many other glorious attendants around him. And the virgins that watched the tower ran up and kissed him, and they began to walk by his side round the tower. And that man inspected the building so carefully, that he felt each single stone; and he held a rod in his hand and struck each single stone that was built in. And when he smote, some of the stones became black as soot, others mildewed, others cracked, others broke off short, others became neither white nor black, others rough and not fitting in with the other stones, and others with many spots; these were the varied aspects of the stones which were found unsound for the building. So he ordered all these to be removed from the tower, and to be placed by the side of the tower, and other stones to be brought and put into their place. And the builders asked him from what mountain he desired stones to be brought and put into their place. And he would not have them brought from the mountains, but ordered them to be brought from a certain plain that was nigh at hand. And the plain was dug, and stones were found there bright and square, but some of them too were round. And all the stones which there were anywhere

in that plain were brought every one of them, and were carried through the gate by the virgins. And the square stones were hewed, and set in the place of those which had been removed; but the round ones were not placed in the building, because they were too hard to be shaped, and to work on them was slow. So they were placed by the side of the tower, as though they were intended to be shaped and placed in the building; for they were very bright.

7. So then, having accomplished these things, the glorious man who was lord of the whole tower called the shepherd to him, and delivered unto him all the stones which lay by the side of the tower, which were cast out from the building and saith unto him, "Clean these stones carefully, and set them in the building of the tower, these, I mean, which can fit with the rest; but those which will not fit, throw far away from the tower." Having given these orders to the shepherd, he departed from the tower with all those with whom he had come. And the virgins stood round the tower watching it. I say to the shepherd, "How can these stones go again to the building of the tower, seeing that they have been disapproved?" He saith unto me in answer, "Seest thou," saith he, "these stones?" "I see them, Sir," say I. "I myself," saith he, "will shape the greater part of these stones and put them into the building, and they shall fit in with the remain-

ing stones." "How, Sir," say I, "can they, when they are chiselled, fill the same space?" He saith unto me in answer, "As many as shall be found small shall be put into the middle of the building; but as many as are larger, shall be placed nearer the outside, and they will bind them together." With these words he saith to me, "Let us go away, and after two days let us come and clean these stones, and put them into the building; for all things round the tower must be made clean, lest haply the master come suddenly and find the circuit of the tower dirty, and he be wroth, and so these stones shall not go to the building of the tower, and I shall appear to be careless in my master's sight."

And after two days we came to the tower, and he saith unto me, "Let us inspect all the stones, and see those which can go to the building." I say to him, "Sir, let us inspect them."

8. And so commencing first we began to inspect the black stones; and just as they were when set aside from the building, such also they were found. And the shepherd ordered them to be removed from the tower and to be put on one side. Then he inspected those that were mildewed, and he took and shaped many of them, and ordered the virgins to take them up and put them into the building. And the virgins took them up and placed them in the building of the tower in a middle position. But the rest he ordered to

be placed with the black ones; for these also were found black. Then he began to inspect those that had the cracks; and of these he shaped many, and he ordered them to be carried away by the hands of the virgins for the building. And they were placed towards the outside, because they were found to be sounder. But the rest could not be shaped owing to the number of the cracks. For this reason, therefore, they were cast aside from the building of the tower. Then he proceeded to inspect the stunted (stones), and many among them were found black, and some had contracted great cracks; and he ordered these also to be placed with those that had been cast aside. But those of them which remained he cleaned and shaped, and ordered to be placed in the building. So the virgins took them up, and fitted them into the middle of the building of the tower; for they were somewhat weak. Then he began to inspect those that were half white and half black, and many of them were (now) found black; and he ordered these also to be taken up with those that had been cast aside. †But all the rest were [found white, and were] taken up by the virgins; for being white they were fitted by [the virgins] them[selves] into the building.† But they were placed towards the outside, because they were found sound, so that they could hold together those that were placed in the middle; for not a single one of them was too short. Then he began to

inspect the hard and rough ; and a few of them were cast away, because they could not be shaped ; for they were found very hard. But the rest of them were shaped [and taken up by the virgins] and fitted into the middle of the building of the tower ; for they were somewhat weak. Then he proceeded to inspect those that had the spots, and of these some few had turned black and were cast away among the rest ; but the remainder were found bright and sound, and these were fitted by the virgins into the building ; but they were placed towards the outside, owing to their strength.

9. Then he came to inspect the white and round stones, and he saith unto me, " What shall we do with these stones ? " " How do I know, Sir ? " say I. [And he saith to me,] " Perceivest thou nothing concerning them ? " " I, Sir," say I, " do not possess this art, neither am I a mason, nor can I understand." " Seest thou not," saith he, " that they are very round ; and if I wish to make them square, very much must needs be chiselled off from them ? Yet some of them must of necessity be placed into the building." " If then, Sir," say I, " it must needs be so, why distress thyself, and why not choose out for the building those thou willest, and fit them into it ? " He chose out from them the large and the bright ones, and shaped them ; and the virgins took them up, and fitted them into the outer parts of the building. But the

rest, which remained over, were taken up, and put aside into the plain whence they were brought; they were not however cast away, "Because," saith he, "there remaineth still a little of the tower to be builded. And the master of the tower is exceedingly anxious that these stones be fitted into the building, for they are very bright." So twelve women were called, most beautiful in form, clad in black, [girded about and having the shoulders bare,] with their hair hanging loose. And these women, methought, had a savage look. And the shepherd ordered them to take up the stones which had been cast away from the building, and to carry them off to the same mountains from which also they had been brought; and they took them up joyfully, and carried away all the stones and put them in the place whence they had been taken. And after all the stones had been taken up, and not a single stone still lay round the tower, the shepherd saith unto me, "Let us go round the tower, and see that there is no defect in it." And I proceeded to go round it with him. And when the shepherd saw that the tower was very comely in the building, he was exceedingly glad; for the tower was so well builded, that when I saw it I coveted the building of it; for it was builded, as it were, of one stone, having one fitting in it. And the stone-work appeared as if hewn out of the rock; for it seemed to me to be all a single stone.

10. And I, as I walked with him, was glad to see so brave a sight. And the shepherd saith to me, "Go and bring plaster and fine clay, that I may fill up the shapes of the stones that have been taken up and put into the building; for all the circuit of the tower must be made smooth." And I did as he bade, and brought them to him. "Assist me," saith he, "and the work will speedily be accomplished." So he filled in the shapes of the stones which had gone to the building, and ordered the circuit of the tower to be swept and made clean. And the virgins took brooms and swept, and they removed all the rubbish from the tower, and sprinkled water, and the site of the tower was made cheerful and very seemly. The shepherd saith unto me, "All," saith he, "hath now been cleaned. If the lord come to inspect the tower, he hath nothing for which to blame us." Saying this, he desired to go away. But I caught hold of his wallet, and began to adjure him by the Lord that he would explain to me what he had showed me. He saith to me, "I am busy for a little while, and then I will explain everything to thee. Await me here till I come." I say to him, "Sir, when I am here alone what shall I do?" "Thou art not alone," saith he; "for these virgins are here with thee." "Commend me then to them," say I. The shepherd calleth them to him and saith to them, "I commend this man to you till I come," and he departed. So

I was alone with the virgins; and they were most cheerful, and kindly disposed to me, especially the four of them that were the more glorious in appearance.

II. The virgins say to me, "To-day the shepherd cometh not here." "What then shall I do?" say I. "Stay for him," say they, "till eventide; and if he come, he will speak with thee; but if he come not, thou shalt stay here with us till he cometh." I say to them, "I will await him till evening, and if he come not, I will depart home and return early in the morning." But they answered and said unto me, "To us thou wast entrusted; thou canst not depart from us." "Where then," say I, "shall I remain?" "Thou shalt pass the night with us," say they, "as a brother, not as a husband; for thou art our brother, and henceforward we will dwell with thee; for we love thee dearly." But I was ashamed to abide with them. And she that seemed to be the chief of them began to kiss and to embrace me; and the others seeing her embrace me, they too began to kiss me, and to lead me round the tower, and to sport with me. And I had become as it were a younger man, and I commenced myself likewise to sport with them. For some of them began to dance, [others to skip,] others to sing. But I kept silence and walked with them round the tower, and was glad with them. But when evening came I wished to go away home; but they would not let me go,

but detained me. And I stayed the night with them, and I slept by the side of the tower. For the virgins spread their linen tunics on the ground, and made me lie down in the midst of them, and they did nothing else but pray; and I prayed with them without ceasing, and not less than they. And the virgins rejoiced that I so prayed. And I stayed there with the virgins until the morning till the second hour. Then came the shepherd, and saith to the virgins, "Have ye done him any injury?" "Ask him," say they. I say to him, "Sir, I was rejoiced to stay with them." "On what didst thou sup?" saith he. "I supped, Sir," say I, "on the words of the Lord the whole night through." "Did they treat thee well?" saith he. "Yes, Sir," say I. "Now," saith he, "what wouldest thou hear first?" "In the order as thou showedst to me, Sir, from the beginning," say I; "I request thee, Sir, to explain to me exactly in the order that I shall inquire of thee." "According as thou desirest," saith he, "even so will I interpret to thee, and I will conceal nothing whatever from thee."

12. "First of all, Sir," say I, "explain this to me. The rock and the gate, what is it?" "This rock," saith he, "and gate is the Son of God." "How, Sir," say I, "is the rock ancient, but the gate recent?" "Listen," saith he, "and understand, foolish man. The Son of God is older than all His creation,

so that He became the Father's adviser in His creation. Therefore also He is ancient." "But the gate, why is it recent, Sir?" say I. "Because," saith he, "He was made manifest in the last days of the consummation; therefore the gate was made recent, that they which are to be saved may enter through it into the kingdom of God. Didst thou see," saith he, "that the stones which came through the gate have gone to the building of the tower, but those which came not through it were cast away again to their own place?" "I saw, Sir," say I. "Thus," saith he, "no one shall enter into the kingdom of God, except he receive the name of His Son. For if thou wishest to enter into any city, and that city is walled all round and has one gate only, canst thou enter into that city except through the gate which it hath?" "Why, how, Sir," say I, "is it possible otherwise?" "If then thou canst not enter into the city except through the gate itself, even so," saith he, "a man cannot enter into the kingdom of God except by the name of His Son that is beloved by Him. Didst thou see," saith he, "the multitude that is building the tower?" "I saw it, Sir," say I. "They," saith he, "are all glorious angels. With these then the Lord is walled around. But the gate is the Son of God; there is this one entrance only to the Lord. No one then shall enter in unto Him otherwise than through His Son. Didst thou see," saith he, "the six men, and the glorious

and mighty man in the midst of them, him that walked about the tower and rejected the stones from the building?" "I saw him, Sir," say I. "The glorious man," saith he, "is the Son of God, and those six are the glorious angels who guard Him on the right hand and on the left. Of these glorious angels not one," saith he, "shall enter in unto God without Him; whosoever shall not receive His name, shall not enter into the kingdom of God."

13. "But the tower," say I, "what is it?" "The tower," saith he, "why, this is the Church." "And these virgins, who are they?" "They," saith he, "are holy spirits; and no man can otherwise be found in the kingdom of God, unless these shall clothe him with their garment; for if thou receive only the name, but receive not the garment from them, thou profitest nothing. For these virgins are powers of the Son of God. If [therefore] thou bear the Name, and bear not His power, thou shalt bear His Name to none effect. And the stones," saith he, "which thou didst see cast away, these bare the Name, but clothed not themselves with the raiment of the virgins." "Of what sort, Sir," say I, "is their raiment?" "The names themselves," saith he, "are their raiment. Whosoever beareth the Name of the Son of God, ought to bear the names of these also; for even the Son Himself beareth the names of these virgins. As many stones," saith he, "as thou sawest

enter into the building of the tower, being given in by their hands and waiting for the building, they have been clothed in the power of these virgins. For this cause thou seest the tower made a single stone with the rock. So also they that have believed in the Lord through His Son and clothe themselves in these spirits, shall become one spirit and one body, and their garments all of one colour. But such persons as bear the names of the virgins have their dwelling in the tower.” “The stones then, Sir,” say I, “which are cast aside, wherefore were they cast aside? For they passed through the gate and were placed in the building of the tower by the hands of the virgins.” “Since all these things interest thee,” saith he, “and thou inquirest diligently, listen as touching the stones that have been cast aside. These all,” [saith he,] “received the name of the Son of God, and received likewise the power of these virgins. When then they received these spirits, they were strengthened, and were with the servants of God, and they had one spirit and one body [and one garment]; for they had the same mind, and they wrought righteousness. After a certain time then they were persuaded by the women whom thou sawest clad in black raiment, and having their shoulders bare and their hair loose, and beautiful in form. When they saw them they desired them, and they clothed themselves with their power, but they stripped off from

themselves the power of the virgins. They then were cast away from the house of God, and delivered to these (women). But they that were not deceived by the beauty of these women remained in the house of God. So thou hast," saith he, "the interpretation of them that were cast aside."

14. "What then, Sir," say I, "if these men, being such as they are, should repent and put away their desire for these women, and return unto the virgins, and walk in their power and in their works? Shall they not enter into the house of God?" "They shall enter," saith he, "if they shall put away the works of these women, and take again the power of the virgins, and walk in their works. For this is the reason why there was also a cessation in the building, that, if these repent, they may go into the building of the tower; but if they repent not, then others will go, and these shall be cast away finally." For all these things I gave thanks unto the Lord, because He had compassion on all that called upon His name, and sent forth the angel of repentance to us that had sinned against Him, and refreshed our spirit, and, when we were already ruined and had no hope of life, restored our life. "Now, Sir," say I, "show me why the tower is not built upon the ground, but upon the rock and upon the gate." "Because thou art senseless," saith he, "and without understanding [thou askest the question]." "I am obliged, Sir," say I, "to ask all

questions of thee, because I am quite unable to comprehend anything at all; for all are great and glorious and difficult for men to understand." "Listen," saith he. "The name of the Son of God is great and incomprehensible, and sustaineth the whole world. If then all creation is sustained by the Son [of God], what thinkest thou of those that are called by Him, and bear the name of the Son of God, and walk according to His commandments? Seest thou then what manner of men He sustaineth? Even those that bear His name with their whole heart. He Himself then is become their foundation, and He sustaineth them gladly, because they are not ashamed to bear His name."

15. "Declare to me Sir," say I, "the names of the virgins, and of the women that are clothed in the black garments." "Hear," saith he, "the names of the more powerful virgins, those that are stationed at the corners. The first is Faith, and the second, Continence, and the third, Power, and the fourth, Longsuffering. But the others stationed between them have these names—Simplicity, Guilelessness, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Concord, Love. He that beareth these names and the name of the Son of God shall be able to enter into the kingdom of God. Hear," saith he, "likewise the names of the women that wear the black garments. Of these also four are more powerful than the rest; the first is Unbelief; the

second, Intemperance; the third, Disobedience; the fourth, Deceit; and their followers are called Sadness, Wickedness, Wantonness, Irascibility, Falsehood, Folly, Slander, Hatred. The servant of God that beareth these names shall see the kingdom of God, but shall not enter into it." "But the stones, Sir," say I, "that came from the deep, and were fitted into the building, who are they?" "The first," saith he, "even the ten, that were placed in the foundations, are the first generation; the twenty-five are the second generation of righteous men; the thirty-five are God's prophets and His ministers; the forty are apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." "Wherefore then, Sir," say I, "did the virgins give in these stones also for the building of the tower and carry them through the gate?" "Because these first," saith he, "bore these spirits, and they never separated the one from the other, neither the spirits from the men nor the men from the spirits, but the spirits abode with them till they fell asleep; and if they had not had these spirits with them, they would not have been found useful for the building of this tower."

16. "Show me still further, Sir," say I. "What desirest thou to know besides?" saith he. "Wherefore, Sir," say I, "did the stones come up from the deep, and wherefore were they placed into the building, though they bore these spirits?" "It was necessary for

them," saith he, "to rise up through water, that they might be made alive; for otherwise they could not enter into the kingdom of God, except they had put aside the deadness of their [former] life. So these likewise that had fallen asleep received the seal of the Son of God and entered into the kingdom of God. For before a man," saith he, "has borne the name of [the Son of] God, he is dead; but when he has received the seal, he layeth aside his deadness and resumeth life. The seal then is the water: so they go down into the water dead, and they come up alive. Thus to them also this seal was preached, and they availed themselves of it that they might enter into the kingdom of God." "Wherefore, Sir," say I, "did the forty stones also come up with them from the deep, though they had already received the seal?" "Because," saith he, "these, the apostles and the teachers who preached the name of the Son of God, after they had fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to them that had fallen asleep before them, and themselves gave unto them the seal of the preaching. Therefore they went down with them into the water, and came up again. But these went down alive [and again came up alive]; whereas the others that had fallen asleep before them went down dead and came up alive. So by their means they were quickened into life, and came to the full knowledge of the name of the Son of God. For this cause

also they came up with them, and were fitted with them into the building of the tower and were builded with them, without being shaped; for they fell asleep in righteousness and in great purity. Only they had not this seal. Thou hast then the interpretation of these things also." "I have, Sir," say I.

17. "Now then, Sir, explain to me concerning the mountains. Wherefore are their forms diverse the one from the other, and various?" "Listen," saith he. "These twelve mountains are [twelve] tribes that inhabit the whole world. To these (tribes) then the Son of God was preached by the Apostles." "But explain to me, Sir, why they are various—these mountains—and each has a different appearance." "Listen," saith he. "These twelve tribes which inhabit the whole world are twelve nations; and they are various in understanding and in mind. As various, then, as thou sawest these mountains to be, such also are the varieties in the mind of these nations, and such their understanding. And I will show unto thee the conduct of each." "First, Sir," say I, "show me this, why the mountains being so various, yet, when their stones were set into the building, became bright and of one colour, just like the stones that had come up from the deep." "Because," saith he, "all the nations that dwell under heaven, when they heard and believed, were called by the one name of [the Son of] God. So having

received the seal, they had one understanding and one mind, and one faith became theirs and [one] love, and they bore the spirits of the virgins along with the Name; therefore the building of the tower became of one colour, even bright as the sun. But after they entered in together, and became one body, some of them defiled themselves, and were cast out from the society of the righteous, and became again such as they were before, or rather even worse."

18. "How, Sir," say I, "did they become worse, after they had fully known God?" "He that knoweth not God," saith he, "and committeth wickedness, hath a certain punishment for his wickedness; but he that knoweth God fully ought not any longer to commit wickedness, but to do good. If then he that ought to do good committeth wickedness, does he not seem to do greater wickedness than the man that knoweth not God? Therefore they that have not known God, and commit wickedness, are condemned to death; but they that have known God and seen His mighty works, and yet commit wickedness, shall receive a double punishment, and shall die eternally. In this way, therefore, shall the Church of God be purified. And as thou sawest the stones removed from the tower and delivered over to the evil spirits, they too shall be cast out; and there shall be one body of them that are purified, just as the tower, after it had been purified, became made as it

were of one stone. Thus shall it be with the Church of God also, after she hath been purified, and the wicked and hypocrites and blasphemers and double-minded and they that commit various kinds of wickedness have been cast out. When these have been cast out, the Church of God shall be one body, one understanding, one mind, one faith, one love. And then the Son of God shall rejoice and be glad in them, for that He hath received back His people pure." "Great and glorious, Sir," say I, "are all these things. Once more, Sir," [say I,] "show me the force and the doings of each one of the mountains, that every soul that trusteth in the Lord, when it heareth, may glorify His great and marvellous and glorious name." "Listen," saith he, "to the variety of the mountains and of the twelve nations.

19. "From the first mountain, which was black, they that have believed are such as these; rebels and blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of the servants of God. For these there is no repentance, but there is death. For this cause also they are black; for their race is lawless. And from the second mountain, the bare one, they that believed are such as these; hypocrites and teachers of wickedness. And these then are like the former in not having the fruit of righteousness. For, even as their mountain is unfruitful, so likewise such men as these have a name indeed, but they are void of the faith, and there

is no fruit of truth in them. For these then repentance is offered, if they repent quickly; but if they delay, they will have their death with the former." "Wherefore, Sir," say I, "is repentance possible for them, but not for the former? For their doings are almost the same." "On this account," he saith, "is repentance offered for them, because they blasphemed not their Lord, nor became betrayers of the servants of God; yet from desire of gain they played the hypocrite, and taught each other [after] the desires of sinful men. But they shall pay a certain penalty; yet repentance is ordained for them, because they are not become blasphemers or betrayers.

20. "And from the third mountain, which had thorns and briars, they that believed are such as these; some of them are wealthy and others are entangled in many business affairs. The briars are the wealthy, and the thorns are they that are mixed up in various business affairs. These [then, that are mixed up in many and various business affairs,] cleave [not] to the servants of God, but go astray, being choked by their affairs, but the wealthy unwillingly cleave to the servants of God, fearing lest they may be asked for something by them. Such men therefore *shall hardly enter into the kingdom of God*. For as it is difficult to walk on briars with bare feet, so also *it is difficult for such men to enter into the kingdom of God*. But for all these repentance is possible, but it must be speedy, that in

respect to what they omitted to do in the former times, they may now revert to (past) days, and do some good. If then they shall repent and do some good, they shall live unto God; but if they continue in their doings, they shall be delivered over to those women, the which shall put them to death.

21. " And from the fourth mountain, which had much vegetation, the upper part of the grass green and the part towards the roots withered, and some of it dried up by the sun, they that believed are such as these; the double-minded, and they that have the Lord on their lips, but have Him not in their heart. Therefore their foundations are dry and without power, and their words only live, but their works are dead. Such men are neither alive nor dead. They are, therefore, like unto the double-minded; for the double-minded are neither green nor withered; for they are neither alive nor dead. For as their grass was withered up when it saw the sun, so also the double-minded, when they hear of tribulation, through their cowardice worship idols and are ashamed of the name of their Lord. Such are neither alive nor dead. Yet these also, if they repent quickly, shall be able to live; but if they repent not, they are delivered over already to the women who deprive them of their life.

22. " And from the fifth mountain, which had green grass and was rugged, they that believed are such as these; they are faithful,

but slow to learn and stubborn and self-pleasers, desiring to know all things, and yet they know nothing at all. By reason of this their stubbornness, understanding stood aloof from them, and a foolish senselessness entered into them; and they praise themselves as having understanding, and they desire to be self-appointed teachers, senseless though they are. Owing then to this pride of heart many, while they exalted themselves, have been made empty; for a mighty demon is stubbornness and vain confidence. Of these then many were cast away, but some repented and believed, and submitted themselves to those that had understanding, having learnt their own senselessness. Yea, and to the rest that belong to this class repentance is offered; for they did not become wicked, but rather foolish and without understanding. If these then shall repent, they shall live unto God; but if they repent not, they shall have their abode with the women who work evil against them.

23. " But they that believed from the sixth mountain, which had clefts great and small, and in the clefts herbage withered, are such as these; they that have the small clefts, these are they that have aught against one another, and from their backbitings they are withered in the faith; but many of these repented. Yea, and the rest shall repent, when they hear my commandments; for their backbitings are but small, and they shall quickly repent.

But they that have great clefts, these are persistent in their backbitings and bear grudges, nursing wrath against one another. These then were thrown right away from the tower and rejected from its building. Such persons, therefore, shall with difficulty live. If God and our Lord, who ruleth over all things and hath the authority over all His creation, beareth no grudge against them that confess their sins, but is propitiated, doth man, who is mortal and full of sins, bear a grudge against man, as though he were able to destroy or save him? I say unto you—I, the angel of repentance—unto as many as hold this heresy, put it away from you and repent, and the Lord shall heal your former sins, if ye shall purify yourselves from this demon; but if not, ye shall be delivered unto him to be put to death.

24. “And from the seventh mountain, on which was herbage green and smiling, and the whole mountain thriving, and cattle of every kind and the fowls of heaven were feeding on the herbage on that mountain, and the green herbage, on which they fed, only grew the more luxuriant, they that believed are such as these; they were ever simple and guileless and blessed, having nothing against one another, but rejoicing always in the servants of God, and clothed in the Holy Spirit of these virgins, and having compassion always on every man, and out of their labours they supplied every man’s need

without reproach and without misgiving. The Lord then seeing their simplicity and entire childliness made them to abound in the labours of their hands, and bestowed favour on them in all their doings. But I say unto you that are such—I, the angel of repentance—remain to the end such as ye are, and your seed shall never be blotted out. For the Lord hath put you to the proof, and enrolled you among our number, and your whole seed shall dwell with the Son of God; for of His Spirit did ye receive.

25. “And from the eighth mountain, where were the many springs, and all the creatures of the Lord did drink of the springs, they that believed are such as these; apostles and teachers, who preached unto the whole world, and who taught the word of the Lord in soberness and purity, and kept back no part at all for evil desire, but walked always in righteousness and truth, even as also they received the Holy Spirit. Such, therefore, shall have their entrance with the angels.

26. “And from the ninth mountain, which was desert, which had [the] reptiles and wild beasts in it which destroy mankind, they that believed are such as these; they that have the spots are deacons that exercised their office ill, and plundered the livelihood of widows and orphans, and made gain for themselves from the ministrations which they had received to perform. If then they abide in the same evil desire, they are dead and there

is no hope of life for them; but if they turn again and fulfil their ministrations in purity, it shall be possible for them to live. But they that are mildewed, these are they that denied and turned not again unto their Lord, but having become barren and desert, because they cleave not unto the servants of God but remain alone, they destroy their own souls. For as a vine left alone in a hedge, if it meet with neglect, is destroyed and wasted by the weeds, and in time becometh wild and is no longer useful to its owner, so also men of this kind have given themselves up in despair and become useless to their Lord, by growing wild. To these then repentance cometh, unless they be found to have denied from the heart; but if a man be found to have denied from the heart, I know not whether it is possible for him to live. And this I say not in reference to these days, that a man after denying should receive repentance; for it is impossible for him to be saved who shall now deny his Lord; but for those who denied Him long ago repentance seemeth to be possible. If a man, therefore, will repent, let him do so speedily before the tower is completed; but if not, he shall be destroyed by the women and put to death. And the stunted, these are the treacherous and backbiters; and the wild beasts which thou sawest on the mountain are these. For as wild beasts with their venom poison and kill a man, so also do the words of such men poison and kill a man.

These then are broken off short from their faith through the conduct which they have in themselves; but some of them repented and were saved; and the rest that are of this kind can be saved, if they repent; but if they repent not, they shall meet their death from those women of whose power they are possessed.

27. "And from the tenth mountain, where were trees sheltering certain sheep, they that believed are such as these; bishops, hospitable persons, who gladly received into their houses at all times the servants of God without hypocrisy. [These bishops] at all times without ceasing sheltered the needy and the widows in their ministration and conducted themselves in purity at all times. These [all] then shall be sheltered by the Lord for ever. They, therefore, that have done these things are glorious in the sight of God, and their place is even now with the angels, if they shall continue unto the end serving the Lord.

28. "And from the eleventh mountain, where were trees full of fruit, decked with divers kinds of fruits, they that believed are such as these; they that suffered for the Name [of the Son of God], who also suffered readily with their whole heart, and yielded up their lives." "Wherefore then, Sir," say I, "have all the trees fruits, but some of their fruits are more beautiful than others?" "Listen," saith he; "all as many as ever suffered for the Name's sake are glorious in

the sight of God, and the sins of all these were taken away, because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. Now hear why their fruits are various, and some surpassing others. As many," saith he, "as were tortured and denied not, when brought before the magistracy, but suffered readily, these are the more glorious in the sight of the Lord; their fruit is that which surpasseth. But as many as became cowards, and were lost in uncertainty, and considered in their hearts whether they should deny or confess, and yet suffered, their fruits are less, because this design entered into their heart; for this design is evil, that a servant should deny his own lord. See to it, therefore, ye who entertain this idea, lest this design remain in your hearts, and ye die unto God. But ye that suffer for the Name's sake ought to glorify God, because God deemed you worthy that ye should bear this name, and that all your sins should be healed. Reckon yourselves blessed therefore; yea, rather think that ye have done a great work, if any of you shall suffer for God's sake. The Lord bestoweth life upon you, and ye perceive it not; for your sins weighed you down, and if ye had not suffered for the Name [of the Lord], ye had died unto God by reason of your sins. These things I say unto you that waver as touching denial and confession. Confess that ye have the Lord, lest denying Him ye be delivered into prison. If the Gentiles punish their slaves, if anyone deny

his lord, what think ye the Lord will do unto you, He Who hath the authority over all things? Away with these designs from your hearts, that ye may live for ever unto God.

29. "And from the twelfth mountain, which was white, they that believed are such as these; they are as very babes, into whose heart no guile entereth, neither learnt they what wickedness is, but they remained as babes for ever. Such as these then dwell without doubt in the kingdom of God, because they defiled the commandments of God in nothing, but continued as babes all the days of their life in the same mind. As many of you, therefore, as shall so continue," saith he, "and shall be as infants not having guile, shall be more glorious [even] than all them that have been mentioned before; for all infants are glorious in the sight of God, and stand first in His sight. Blessed then are ye, as many as have put away wickedness from you, and have clothed yourselves in guilelessness: ye shall live unto God chiefest of all."

After he had finished the parables of the mountains, I say unto him, "Sir, now explain to me concerning the stones that were taken from the plain and placed in the building in the room of the stones that were taken from the tower, and concerning the round (stones) which were placed in the building, and concerning those that were still round."

30. "Hear," saith he, "likewise concerning all these things. The stones which were

taken from the plain and placed in the building of the tower in the room of those that were rejected, are the roots of this white mountain. When then they that believed from the mountain were all found guileless, the lord of the tower ordered these from the roots of this mountain to be put into the building of the tower. For he knew that if these stones should go to the building [of the tower], they would remain bright and not one of them would turn black. But if he had added (stones) from the other mountains, he would have been obliged to visit that tower again, and to purify it. Now all these have been found white, who have believed and who shall believe; for they are of the same kind. Blessed is this kind, for it is innocent! Hear now likewise concerning those round and bright stones. All these are from this white mountain. Now hear wherefore they have been found round. Their riches have darkened and obscured them a little from the truth, yet they never departed from God, nor did any evil word proceed from their mouth, but all equity and virtue which comes from the truth. When, therefore, the Lord perceived their mind, †that they could favour the truth,† and likewise remain good, He commanded their possessions to be cut from off them, yet not to be taken away altogether, so that they might be able to do some good with that which hath been left to them, and might live unto God, for that they come of a good

kind. So, therefore, they have been cut away a little, and placed in the building of this tower.

31. "But the other (stones), which have remained round and have not been fitted into the building, because they have not yet received the seal, have been replaced in their own position, for they were found very round. For this world and the vanities of their possessions must be cut from off them, and then they will fit into the kingdom of God. For it is necessary that they should enter into the kingdom of God; because the Lord hath blessed this innocent kind. Of this kind then not one shall perish. Yea, even though any one of them being tempted by the most wicked devil have committed any fault, he shall return speedily unto his Lord. Blessed I pronounce you all to be—I, the angel of repentance—whoever of you are guileless as infants, because your part is good and honourable in the sight of God. Moreover, I bid all of you, whoever have received this seal, keep guilelessness, and bear no grudge, and continue not in your wickedness, nor in the memory of the offences of bitterness; but become of one spirit, and heal these evil clefts and take them away from among you, that the owner of the flocks may rejoice concerning them. For he will rejoice, if he find all things whole. But if he find any part of the flock scattered, woe unto the shepherds. For if the shepherds themselves shall have

been found scattered, how will they answer for the flocks? Will they say that they were harassed by the flock? No credence will be given them. For it is an incredible thing that a shepherd should be injured by his flock; and he will be punished the more because of his falsehood. And I am the shepherd, and it behoveth me most strongly to render an account for you.

32. "Amend yourselves, therefore, while the tower is still in course of building. The Lord dwelleth in men that love peace; for to Him peace is dear; but from the contentious and them that are given up to wickedness He keepeth afar off. Restore, therefore, to Him your spirit whole as ye received it. For suppose thou hast given to a fuller a new garment whole, and desirest to receive it back again whole, but the fuller give it back to thee torn, wilt thou receive it thus? Wilt thou not at once blaze out and attack him with reproaches, saying, 'The garment which I gave thee was whole; wherefore hast thou rent it and made it useless? See, by reason of the rent, which thou hast made in it, it cannot be of use.' Wilt thou not then say all this to a fuller even about a rent which he has made in thy garment? If, therefore, thou art thus vexed in the matter of thy garment, and complainest because thou receivest it not back whole, what thinkest thou the Lord will do to thee, He, who gave thee the spirit whole, and thou hast made it absolutely

useless, so that it cannot be of any use at all to its Lord? For its use began to be useless, when it was corrupted by thee. Will not, therefore, the Lord of this spirit for this thy deed punish [thee with death]? ” “ Certainly, I said, “ all those, whomsoever He shall find continuing to bear malice, He will punish.” “ Trample not,” said he, “ upon His mercy, but rather glorify Him, because He is so long-suffering with your sins, and is not like unto you. Practise then repentance which is expedient for you.

33. “ All these things which are written above I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have declared and spoken to the servants of God. If then ye shall believe and hear my words, and walk in them, and amend your ways, ye shall be able to live. But if ye continue in wickedness and in bearing malice, no one of this kind shall live unto God. All things which were to be spoken by me have (now) been spoken to you.” The shepherd said to me, “ Hast thou asked me all thy questions? ” And I said, “ Yes, Sir.” “ Why then hast thou not inquired of me concerning the shape of the stones placed in the building, in that we filled up their shapes? ” And I said, “ I forgot, Sir.” “ Listen now,” said he, “ concerning them. These are they that have heard my commandments now, and have practised repentance with their whole heart. So when the Lord saw that their repentance was good and pure, and that they could con-

tinue therein, he ordered their former sins to be blotted out. These shapes then were their former sins, and they have been chiselled away that they might not appear."

PARABLE THE TENTH

I. After I had written out this book completely, the angel who had delivered me to the shepherd came to the house where I was, and sat upon a couch, and the shepherd stood at his right hand. Then he called me, and spake thus unto me: "I delivered thee," said he, "and thy house to this shepherd, that thou mightest be protected by him." "True, Sir," I said. "If, therefore," said he, "thou desirest to be protected from all annoyance and all cruelty, to have also success in every good work and word, and all the power of righteousness, walk in his commandments, which I have given thee, and thou shalt be able to get the mastery over all wickedness. For if thou keep his commandments, all evil desire and the sweetness of this world shall be subject unto thee; moreover, success shall attend thee in every good undertaking. Embrace his gravity and self-restraint, and tell it out unto all men that he is held in great honour and dignity with the Lord, and is a ruler of great authority, and powerful in his office. To him alone in the whole world hath authority over repentance been assigned. Seemeth he to thee to be

powerful? Yet ye despise the gravity and moderation which he useth towards you."

2. I say unto him; "Ask him, Sir, himself, whether from the time that he hath been in my house, I have done aught out of order, whereby I have offended him." "I myself know," said he, "that thou hast done nothing out of order, nor art about to do so. And so I speak these things unto thee, that thou mayest persevere. For he hath given a good account of thee unto me. Thou, therefore, shalt speak these words to others, that they too who have practised or shall practise repentance may be of the same mind as thou art; and he may give a good report of them to me, and I unto the Lord." "I too, Sir," I say, "declare to every man the mighty works of the Lord; for I hope that all who have sinned in the past, if they hear these things, will gladly repent and recover life." "Continue, therefore," said he, "in this ministry, and complete it unto the end. For whosoever fulfil his commandments shall have life; yea, such a man (shall have) great honour with the Lord. But whosoever keep not his commandments, fly from their life, and oppose him, and follow not his commandments, but deliver themselves over to death; and each one becometh guilty of his own blood. But I bid thee obey these commandments, and thou shalt have a remedy for thy sins.

3. "Moreover, I have sent these virgins unto thee, that they may dwell with thee;

for I have seen that they are friendly towards thee. Thou hast them, therefore, as helpers, that thou mayest be the better able to keep his commandments; for it is impossible that these commandments be kept without the help of these virgins. I see too that they are glad to be with thee. But I will charge them that they depart not at all from thy house. Only do thou purify thy house; for in a clean house they will gladly dwell. For they are clean and chaste and industrious, and all have favour in the sight of the Lord. If, therefore, they shall find thy house pure, they will continue with thee; but if any pollution arise, they will depart from thy house at once. For these virgins love not pollution in any form." I say unto him, "I hope, Sir, that I shall please them, so that they may gladly dwell in my house for ever; and just as he to whom thou didst deliver me maketh no complaint against me, so they likewise shall make no complaint." He saith unto the shepherd, "I perceive," saith he, "that he wishes to live as the servant of God, and that he will keep these commandments, and will place these virgins in a clean habitation." With these words he again delivered me over to the shepherd, and called the virgins, and said to them, "Inasmuch as I see that ye are glad to dwell in this man's house, I commend to you him and his house, that ye depart not at all from his house." But they heard these words gladly.

4. He said then to me, "Quit you like a man in this ministry; declare to every man the mighty works of the Lord, and thou shalt have favour in this ministry. Whosoever, therefore, shall walk in these commandments, shall live and be happy in his life; but whosoever shall neglect them shall not live, and shall be unhappy in his life. Charge all men who are able to do right, that they cease not to practise good works; for it is useful for them. I say, moreover, that every man ought to be rescued from misfortune; for he that hath need, and suffereth misfortune in his daily life, is in great torment and want. Whosoever, therefore, rescueth from penury a life of this kind, winneth great joy for himself. For he who is harassed by misfortune of this sort is afflicted and tortured with equal torment as one who is in chains. For many men on account of calamities of this kind, because they can bear them no longer, lay violent hands on themselves. He then who knows the calamity of a man of this kind and rescueth him not, committeth great sin, and becometh guilty of the man's blood. Do, therefore, good works, whoever of you have received (benefits) from the Lord, lest, while ye delay to do them, the building of the tower be completed. For it is on your account that the work of the building has been interrupted. Unless then ye hasten to do right, the tower will be completed, and ye shut out."

When then he had finished speaking with

me, he rose from the couch and departed, taking with him the shepherd and the virgins. He said, however, unto me, that he would send the shepherd and the virgins back again to my house.

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